

















Thomas McKim Jr  
River Point  
R.I.

July 8<sup>th</sup> 1884







OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC  
CONVENTION,

HELD IN CHICAGO, ILL., JULY 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> AND 11<sup>th</sup>,

1884.

---

CONTAINING ALSO, THE

PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC  
COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS,

WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING THE

ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE  
OF 1884, THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE NOTIFICATION COM-  
MITTEE, AND THE LETTERS OF ACCEPTANCE  
OF HON. GROVER CLEVELAND AND  
THOMAS A. HENDRICKS.

---

REPORTED FOR THE CONVENTION BY

EDWARD B. DICKINSON,

OFFICIAL STENOGRAPHER.

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# INDEX.

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Abbett, Leon—Address of, seconding nomination of Randall.....	163
Apgar, Edgar K.—Address of, seconding nomination of Cleveland.....	141
Appendix.....	273
Ballot—On motion to adjourn, second day.....	149
Ballot—On motion to adjourn, third day.....	224
Ballot (second)—On motion to adjourn, third day.....	230
Ballot—On adoption of minority report on platform.....	218
Ballot—On motion to lay on table resolution to proceed to nominations.....	93
Ballot (first)—For President.....	227
Ballot (second)—For President.....	241
Ballot—For President as finally announced.....	247
Ballot—For Vice-Presidency.....	252
Bacon, A. O.—Address of, on nomination of J. C. Black for Vice-Presidency.....	255
Bayard, Thomas F.—Placed in nomination for Presidency.....	97
Black, John C.—Address of, seconding nomination of McDonald.....	104
Black, John C.—Placed in nomination for Vice-Presidency.....	255
Black, John C.—Name withdrawn from nomination.....	264
Bragg, Edward S.—Address of, seconding nomination of Cleveland.....	176
Bragg, Edward S.—Address of, on unit rule.....	30
Breckinridge, John W.—Address of, on nomination of Thurman.....	107
Bright, Richard J.—Appointment of, as sergeant-at-arms.....	8
Burke, E. A.—Address of, on unit rule.....	32
Butler, Benjamin F.—Address of, on minority report.....	206
Call of States for nominations to Presidency.....	87
Canda, Charles J.—Re-elected Treasurer National Democratic Committee.....	279
Carlisle, John G.—Placed in nomination for Presidency.....	110
Cleveland, Grover—Letter of acceptance.....	293
Cleveland, Grover—Nominated by the Convention for Presidency.....	248
Cleveland, Grover—Placed in nomination for the Presidency.....	117
Cleveland, Grover—Reply to Committee on Notification.....	285
Clunie, T. J.—Address of, on unit rule.....	21
Cockran, W. Bourke—Address of, seconding nomination of Thurman.....	133
Cockran, W. Bourke—Address of, on unit rule.....	18
Committee of Arrangements—Preliminary proceedings of.....	xxii
Committee on Credentials—Appointment of.....	42
Committee on Credentials—Report of.....	51
Committee to escort permanent chairman.....	81



Committee on Notification—Appointment of.....	191
Committee on Notification—Address of, to Cleveland.....	284
Committee on Notification—Address of, to Hendricks.....	289
Committee on Notification—Proceedings of.....	281
Committee on Permanent Organization—Appointment of.....	42
Committee on Permanent Organization—Report of.....	79
Committee on Resolutions—Appointment of.....	43
Committee on Resolutions—Report progress.....	47, 152
Committee on Resolutions—Special report in regard to chairman of National Committee.....	191
Committee on Resolutions—Report of.....	195
Committee on Resolutions—Majority report adopted.....	220
Committee on Tilden and Hendricks resolutions.....	188
Convention—First day.....	1
Convention—Second day.....	45
Convention—Third day, morning session.....	150
Convention—Third day, evening session.....	187
Convention—Fourth day, morning session.....	232
Convention—Fourth day, evening session.....	250
Convention—Official list of Delegates to.....	53
Convention—Permanent organization of.....	79
Convention—Rules to govern.....	9
Convention—Grady's amendment to above.....	9
Convention—Menzies' amendment to above.....	12
Convention—Vote on Grady's amendment to rule.....	39
Convention—Rules to govern adopted.....	41
Converse, George L.—Address of, on majority report.....	211
Cummings, John W.—Address of, seconding nomination of Bayard.....	168
Delegates—Official list of.....	53
Dickinson, Edward B.—Appointment of, official stenographer.....	8
Dickinson, Edward B.—Re-elected stenographer National Democratic Com- mittee.....	279
Doolittle, James R.—Address of, seconding nomination of Cleveland.....	182
Doolittle, James R.—Address of, on unit rule.....	16
Faulkner, W. C.—Address of, seconding nomination of Rosecrans.....	259
Fellows, John R.—Address of, on unit rule.....	9, 25
Fenlon, T. P.—Address of, nominating G. W. Glick to Vice-Presidency.....	258
Gavels—Presentations of.....	234-5
Glick, George W.—Placed in nomination for Vice-Presidency.....	258
Glick, George W.—Name withdrawn.....	263
Goodwin, Mrs. Horace—Letters of, presenting gavel.....	234
Grady, Thomas F.—Address of, on the nomination of Cleveland.....	123
Grady, Thomas F.—Address of, on unit rule.....	12
Gray, George—Address of, nominating T. F. Bayard.....	97
Harrison, Carter H.—Address seconding nomination of Cleveland.....	119
Harrison, Carter H.—Address of, on question of privilege.....	151
Harrison, Carter H.—Address of, on unit rule.....	22
Hendricks, Thomas A.—Address of, nominating J. E. McDonald.....	99

Hendricks, Thomas A.—Letter of acceptance.....	297
Hendricks, Thomas A.—Placed in nomination for Vice-Presidency.....	260
Hendricks, Thomas A.—Reply to Committee on Notification.....	291
Hendricks, Thomas A.—Nominated unanimously by the Convention.....	267
Hiteshew, H. B.—Letter of, presenting gavel.....	235
Hoadly, George.—Placed in nomination for Presidency.....	160
Hooker, Charles E.—Address of, seconding nomination of Bayard.....	114
Hubbard, Richard B.—Address of, as Temporary Chairman.....	3
Hubbard, Richard B.—Elected Temporary Chairman.....	3
Hubbard, Richard B.—Seconding nomination of Hendricks.....	263
Jacobs, John C.—Address of, on unit rule.....	23
Jones, Richard A.—Address of, seconding nomination of Cleveland.....	122
Kelly, John.—Address of, on unit rule.....	24
Kent, Henry G.—Address of, seconding nomination of Cleveland.....	178
Letters of acceptance.....	293 <i>et seq.</i>
Locke, Rev. Clinton.—Prayer of.....	232
Lockwood, Daniel M.—Address of, nominating Cleveland.....	117
Lorimer, Rev. Geo. C.—Prayer of.....	150
McDonald, Joseph E.—Placed in nomination for the Presidency.....	99
McDonald, Joseph E.—Placed in nomination for Vice-Presidency.....	254
McKenzie, James E.—Address of, nominating Carlisle.....	110
McLaren, Bishop.—Prayer of.....	45
Mann, Joseph B.—Address of, seconding nomination of Black.....	256
Mansur, Charles H.—Address of, seconding nomination of Thurman.....	155
Marquis, Rev. Dr.—Prayer of.....	1
National Democratic Committee—Appointment of.....	190
National Democratic Committee—Permanent organization of.....	276
National Democratic Committee—Preliminary proceedings of.....	x
National Democratic Committee—Temporary organization of.....	273
Permanent organization.....	79
Platform.....	195
Platform presented by B. F. Butler (minority report).....	203
Powell, Thomas E.—Address of, nominating George Hoadly.....	160
Powers, O. W.—Address of, on unit rule.....	22
Prayers.....	I, 45, 150, 232
Randall, Samuel J.—Placed in nomination for Presidency.....	162
RESOLUTIONS IN REGARD TO :—	
Alcoholic liquor traffic.....	184
Appointment of National and Notification Committees (Cleveland, N. J.).....	189
Appointment of Committees on Credentials, Resolutions and Permanent Organization.....	40, 41
Chairman of National Committee (Hampton, S. C.).....	68
Civil Service (Schaffer, Kansas).....	71
Chinese exclusion (Archer, Cal.).....	76
Chinese immigration (Porter, Oregon).....	77
Chinese question (Carmody, Mo.).....	77
Constitutional amendment on Presidential term (Müller, O.).....	73
Convict labor (Harrington, Mo.).....	50



Eight hour law (Sweeney, Texas).....	50
Election by popular vote (Turner, Mich.).....	76
Federal Judiciary, Encroachment of (Alexander, Texas).....	79
Federal Revenue (Heenan, Minn.).....	67
Intercommunication (Withey, Mich.).....	87
Irish National League (Cummings, Mass.).....	47
Labor element (Fenton, Md.).....	73
Land in Indian Territory (Munford, Mo.).....	86
Morrison Bill (Simpkins, Texas).....	252
National Convention to be called (Smalley, Vt.).....	267
Platform of the party (Perkins, Conn.).....	74
Polygamy (Smith, Utah).....	68
Public lands to actual settlers (Higgins, Neb.).....	75
Public lands (McGilvray, Col.).....	71
Public lands to corporations (La Rue, Cal.).....	86
Printing Official Proceedings (Cleveland, N. J.).....	236
Printing Official Proceedings—Number of copies.....	275
Printing Reports of Committees on Resolutions.....	154
Protection from American saloon (Burke, La.).....	77
Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendricks (Henry, Miss.).....	187
Sumptuary Laws (Rubens, Ills.).....	50
Surplus in Treasury (Sweat, Ga.).....	86
Tariff revision (Boyd, Neb.).....	73
Tariff revision (Gallup, N. Y.).....	69
Tariff revision (Hillier, Ga.).....	76
Tariff revision (McArthur, Ore.).....	72
Thanks of Convention to Chicago, police, etc (Kinney, W. Va.).....	268
Thanks of Convention to its officers (Apgar, N. Y.).....	267
Thanks of Convention to the Press (Harris, Va.).....	268
Thanks of Convention to Richard J. Bright (Vilas, Wis.).....	268
Thanks of National Committee to chairman, etc.....	274
Two-thirds rule (Terry, Ark.).....	192
Unit rule (Bateman, Ga.).....	72
Vacancies on ticket (Burke, La.).....	251
Vacancies on ticket (Burns, Pa.).....	73
Veteran Association (Harrison, Ills.).....	69
Viticulture (Rose, Cal.).....	88
Woman Suffrage Association.....	48
World's Arbitration League.....	48
Rose, U. M.—Address of, seconding nomination of Cleveland.....	175
Rosecrans, William S.—Placed in nomination for Vice-Presidency.....	253
Rosecrans, William S.—Name withdrawn.....	263
Searls, Niles—Address of, nominating Rosecrans.....	253
Secretaries—List of.....	80
Sergeant-at-Arms—Appointment of.....	8
Stenographer—Appointment of.....	8
Telegrams read to Convention.....	159, 233, 248, 251, 259
Temporary Chairman—Election of.....	3

Temporary organization.....	8
Thurman, Allan G.—Placed in nomination for Presidency.....	107
Vice-Presidents of Convention—List of.....	79
Vice-Presidents—Nominations for, roll of States called.....	252
Vilas, William F.—Address of, as permanent chairman..	81
Vilas, William F.—Appointed chairman on Committee on Notification.....	250
Vilas, William F.—Appointed permanent chairman.....	79
Vilas, William F.—Address of, to Grover Cleveland.....	282
Vilas, William F.—Address of, to Thomas A. Hendricks.....	288
Wallace, William A.—Address of, nominating Hendricks.....	260
Wallace, William A.—Address of, nominating Randall.....	162
Waller, T. M.—Address of, seconding nomination of Cleveland.....	183
Waller, T. M.—Address of, seconding nomination of Hendricks.....	262
Ward, Durbin—Address of, seconding nomination of Thurman.....	108
Watterson, Henry—Address of, on majority report.....	213
Youmans, Leroy F.—Address of, seconding nomination of Bayard.....	171





## INTRODUCTION.

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The National Democratic Convention which gathered in the Exposition building in the City of Chicago on the 8th day of July, 1884, was, in many respects, the most remarkable Convention ever assembled. It was remarkable in its size; the actual seating capacity of the hall being twelve thousand, and during three days of the Convention every seat and substantially all of the standing room was occupied.

It was remarkable in the character of the Delegates sent from the different States. Nearly every distinguished member of the Democratic party was present; and the main body of the Delegates was composed of calm, clear-headed men, not easily swayed by any outside clamor.

The Convention was remarkable for the dignified manner in which it was governed, for its temperate straightforward methods of procedure, for the absolute freedom of speech allowed to all parties. And it was remarkable, lastly, for the good temper and the good order which prevailed throughout the entire four days' session.

The various Committees of Arrangements were untiring in their efforts to promote the comfort of the throngs of people visiting the city.



The arrangements in the hall for the accommodation of the Delegates, the press, the distinguished guests and the audience at large were admirable. The task of managing the 12,000 people and upwards, who attended the sessions of that Convention, was performed by Sergeant-at-Arms Hon. Richard J. Bright and the chief door-keeper, Gen. Charles Field, in such a manner as not only to reflect the greatest credit upon the skill and energy of those two officers, but also to give satisfaction to and insure the comfort and safety of the immense assemblage.

While the hotel accommodations of Chicago, ample as they are, were tasked to their utmost to accommodate the guests, everything was done by the hotel people to promote the comfort and to reduce to a minimum the annoyances inseparable from the gathering of so many thousands of strangers from all parts of the country.

In brief, the City of Chicago, through its resident committee, did all that could be done to maintain Chicago's well-earned reputation for hospitality.

At the close of the last session of the fourth day, the nominations having been made, a scene of enthusiasm occurred, which never was equalled in any Convention before, and it is safe to say will not soon be equalled again. The entire Convention rose *en masse*; cheer after cheer went up, with the accompaniment of the military band, waving handkerchiefs, and every possible demonstration of satisfaction; and, finally, when the band, after a moment's pause, burst forth into

“Old Hundred,” and fifteen thousand human voices joined in the great swell of that grand old anthem, no words can convey any adequate picture of the impressiveness of the scene.

When the Convention adjourned *sine die*, it was with the general conviction that in all respects it had been the most successful Convention that had ever been held in the history of the country.





## PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS.

---

The National Democratic Committee met on the 22<sup>d</sup> day of February, 1884, pursuant to call, at the Arlington House, in the City of Washington, D. C., at 12 o'clock M.

The Chairman of the Committee, Hon. William H. Barnum, of Connecticut, presided.

The Secretary of the Committee, Hon. Frederick O. Prince, of Massachusetts, read the following call for the present meeting:

BOSTON, January 12, 1884.

Dear Sir:

A meeting of the National Democratic Committee will be held at the Arlington House, in the City of Washington, D. C., on the 22<sup>d</sup> of February, 1884, at 12 o'clock, M., to fix the time and place of holding the National Democratic Convention for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, and for such other business as may come before the Committee.

Respectfully yours,

FREDERICK O. PRINCE,

*Secretary Nat. Dem. Com.*

The Secretary then called the roll of the Committee ; all of the States were represented, either by the member in person or by proxies as follows :



*Alabama*—HENRY C. SEMPLE.\*

*Arkansas*—JOHN J. SUMPTER.

*California*—JAMES T. FARLEY.

*Colorado*—T. M. PATTERSON.

*Connecticut*—WM. H. BARNUM.

*Delaware*—IGNATIUS C. GRUBB.

*Florida*—WILKINSON CALL [Proxy for SAMUEL PASCO].

*Georgia*—GEORGE T. BARNES.

*Illinois*—WM. C. GOUDY.

*Indiana*—AUSTIN H. BROWN.

*Iowa*—M. M. HAM.

*Kansas*—CHARLES W. BLAIR.

*Kentucky*—HENRY D. MCHENRY.

*Louisiana*—N. C. BLANCHARD [Proxy for B. F. JONAS].

*Maine*—EDMUND WILSON.

*Maryland*—OUTERBRIDGE HORSEY.

*Massachusetts*—FREDERICK O. PRINCE.

*Michigan*—WILLIAM C. MAYBERRY [Proxy for EDWARD KANTER].

*Minnesota*—P. H. KELLY.

*Mississippi*—J. W. M. HARRIS [Proxy for W. T. MARTIN].

*Missouri*—JOHN G. PRATHER.

*Nebraska*—J. STERLING MORTON.

*Nevada*—JAMES G. FAIR [Proxy for R. P. KEATING].

*New Hampshire*—ALVAH W. SULLOWAY.

*New Jersey*—ORESTES CLEVELAND.

*New York*—ABRAM S. HEWITT.

*North Carolina*—M. W. RANSOM.

*Ohio*—WM. W. ARMSTRONG.

*Oregon*—JAMES H. SLATER [Proxy for P. P. PRIM].

*Pennsylvania*—V. E. PIBLETT [Proxy for WILLIAM L. SCOTT].

*Rhode Island*—J. B. BARNABY.†

*South Carolina*—F. W. DAWSON.

*Tennessee*—R. F. LOONEY.‡

*Texas*—JOHN H. REAGAN [Proxy for F. S. STOCKDALE].

*Vermont*—BRADLEY B. SMALLEY.

*Virginia*—JOHN S. BARBOUR [Proxy for R. A. COGHILL].

*West Virginia*—ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

*Wisconsin*—WILLIAM F. VILAS.

Mr. Dawson, of South Carolina, moved that the representatives of the two Associated Press organizations be admitted to the meeting to report the proceedings, except when the Committee goes into executive session.

This motion was lost.

On motion of Mr. McHenry, of Kentucky, Col. R. F. Looney, of Tennessee, was recognized as the member of the Committee from Tennessee in place of Mr. Thomas O'Connor, deceased, he having presented memorials from the representatives of that State in Congress, and others, requesting that he be so recognized, and he was notified to that effect by the Sergeant-at-Arms, and took his seat with the Committee.

The Secretary read the minutes of the meetings of July 13th, July 14th, 1880, as they appear printed in the Official Record of the Convention of 1880, and on motion of Mr. Hewitt, of New York, they were approved.

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\* Elected by the Democratic State Committee of Alabama to fill vacancy caused by resignation of Levi M. Lawler. Certificate of election on file with the Secretary of this Committee.

† Vice A. J. Barnaby, deceased.

‡ Vice Thomas O'Connor, deceased.

Mr. Armstrong, of Ohio, offered the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted :

*Whereas*, This Committee have heard with profound regret of the death of Thomas O'Connor, of Tennessee, and of A. J. Barnaby, of Rhode Island, late members of the Committee,

*Resolved*, That in their death the National Democracy of their respective States have lost faithful members of the Democratic party, genial gentlemen, wise counsellors, and generous-hearted friends.

*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of our proceedings and transmitted to the respective families of the deceased.

Three communications were submitted to the Committee from the Territory of New Mexico, from the Territories at large, and from the Democrats of Franklin County, Illinois, which were placed on file.

Mr. Campbell, of West Virginia, offered the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of the National Democratic Committee, the District of Columbia and the Territories of the United States should be represented by two delegates each in the next National Democratic Convention.

*Resolved*, That they be hereby invited to appoint delegates to such Convention, subject to the decision of said Convention as to their admission.

Mr. Grubb, of Delaware, offered the following as a substitute :

*Resolved*, That the National Democratic Committee recommend to the National Democratic Convention that two delegates from the District of Columbia, and from each of the Territories, be admitted to seats in the Convention, with all the rights and privileges of membership, except that of voting for candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency.

This amendment was accepted by Mr. Campbell.

Mr. Vilas, of Wisconsin, offered the following as an amendment :

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of the National Democratic Committee the District of Columbia and each of the Territories of the United States should be represented by two delegates in the next National Democratic Convention, and they are hereby invited to appoint delegates to such Convention, subject to the decision of the Convention as to their admission.

By consent the amendment offered by Mr. Grubb, of Delaware, was withdrawn by him.

Mr. Goudy, of Illinois, offered the following as a substitute for all the previous resolutions on the subject :



*Resolved*, That the Democrats of each organized Territory and of the District of Columbia be invited in the call to send two delegates to the next National Democratic Convention, subject to the decision of the Convention as to their admission.

Mr. Campbell accepted this as a substitute for his resolution.

The resolution so substituted by Mr. Goudy and accepted by Mr. Campbell was adopted.

Mr. Hewitt, of New York, moved that the next National Convention be held on the blank day of blank, 1884, and that amendments made to this resolution in the form of filling in the blank dates shall be voted on *seriatim*, the Committee voting on the earliest day first.

The following amendments were offered as filling the blanks: May 20th, 1884; June 17th, 1884; June 24th, 1884; July 4th and 8th, 1884; August 5th, 1884.

Mr. McHenry, of Kentucky, moved to postpone fixing the time of holding the Convention until after the decision as to the place of holding the same had been made; and for that purpose moved that Mr. Hewitt's resolution, with the various amendments thereto, be laid upon the table for the present.

This motion was lost.

Mr. Hewitt, of New York, and Mr. Barnum, of Connecticut, addressed the Committee briefly on the subject of their personal experience as Chairmen of the Committee during the campaigns of 1876 and 1880, respectively, as bearing upon the advisability of an early date for the Convention.

Mr. Vilas, of Wisconsin, moved to substitute the following for the resolution of Mr. Hewitt:

*Resolved*, That the roll of the Committee be called, and that each member respond by expressing the date at which he thinks the Convention should be held. If no date has a majority of votes, then the roll be immediately called again and the votes be confined to the three dates having the highest number of votes on the previous call.

Mr. Sumpter, of Arkansas, moved to amend by adding the words "and the date receiving the smallest number of votes shall be dropped out on each subsequent ballot."

This amendment was accepted.

The resolution was declared lost on a rising vote.

A call of the roll being demanded, the roll was called and the resolution was lost: 21 nays to 17 yeas.

The vote was then taken on Mr. Hewitt's resolution, as amended

by Mr. Armstrong, of Ohio, that the 20th of May be the date for holding the Convention.

The roll was called ; but before its conclusion Mr. Armstrong withdrew the amendment.

The vote was then taken on the amendment by Mr. Sumpter, that the 17th of June be fixed upon as the date.

This amendment was declared lost on a call of the roll: 21 nays to 17 yeas.

The vote was then taken on the amendment offered by Mr. Campbell, of Virginia, that the 24th of June be fixed as such date.

This amendment was declared carried on a call of the roll, 23 yeas to 15 nays, and the resolution of Mr. Hewitt, of New York, as amended by Mr. Campbell, of West Virginia, was adopted, and the 24th day of June was fixed upon as the date of holding the Convention. On motion of Mr. Smalley, of Vermont, the Committee proceeded to name a place for holding such Convention.

Mr. Smalley, of Vermont, offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the Committee proceed to name the place of holding such Convention, and that the representatives from each city, desiring the Convention to be held there, be allowed twenty minutes in which to advocate their claims ; and that the Delegations from such cities shall decide whether one or more speakers shall present such claims, and that only twenty minutes shall be allowed to each city.

Mr. Kelly, of Minnesota, moved as an amendment, that two representatives from each city shall be permitted to address this Committee, and that the time occupied by both in such address shall not exceed twenty minutes.

Mr. McHenry, of Kentucky, offered as an amendment, that only one representative from each city be permitted to address the Committee in behalf of such city, and that the time occupied by him shall not exceed fifteen minutes.

By consent, both of these amendments were withdrawn, and Mr. Smalley's original motion was adopted.

Mr. Hewitt, of New York, moved that the delegates from the different cities be admitted separately, and in the alphabetical order of the names of the cities which they represent.

Mr. McHenry, of Kentucky, moved as a substitute the following : That the names of the cities be suggested by members of this Committee, and that we hear the speaking representative of those cities, who shall be called in the alphabetical order of the names of the cities which they represent.

Mr. Goudy, of Illinois offered the following as a substitute for the resolution and substitute just offered:

*Resolved*, That the roll be called, and that each State be allowed to nominate a city for the place of holding the Convention; that after the nominations are completed, then the roll shall be again called and the representatives of each of those cities so nominated, in the alphabetical order of the names of such cities, be allowed to address the Committee; that all the delegates from the different cities be admitted together, and that the time occupied by the representatives from each city shall not exceed twenty minutes.

This substitute was accepted, and the resolution was adopted.

The Secretary, in accordance with the resolution just adopted, called the roll of the States.

Mr. Goudy, of Illinois, named Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. McHenry, of Kentucky, named Louisville, Kentucky.

Mr. Horsey, of Maryland, named Baltimore, Maryland.

Mr. Prather, of Missouri, named St. Louis, Missouri.

Mr. Hewitt, of New York, named Saratoga Springs, New York.

Mr. Armstrong, of Ohio, named Cincinnati, Ohio.

The Committee took a recess of ten minutes.

Upon re-assembling, the Chairman called the cities nominated in the alphabetical order of their names.

Hon. Frank X. Ward, addressed the Committee, and presented the claims of the City of Baltimore.

Hon. Carter H. Harrison and Hon. Melville W. Fuller addressed the Committee, and advocated the claims of Chicago.

Hon. John A. Follett addressed the Committee, presenting the claims of Cincinnati.

Hon. Albert S. Willis addressed the Committee, and urged the claims of Louisville.

Messrs. Wemple and Adams addressed the Committee, and presented the claims of Saratoga Springs.

Senator Vest addressed the Committee, and presented the claims of the City of St. Louis and the following letter :

WILLARD'S HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb'y 22, 1884.

*To National Democratic Committee :*

GENTLEMEN : We, the undersigned, Chairman and Secretary of the Missouri Delegation, and the Secretary and Treasurer of the Finance Committee of the Citizens' Organization of the City of St. Louis, Missouri, pledge ourselves, personally, the Delegation and the citizens of St. Louis, that if the Convention is held at St. Louis:



*First.*—The hotel rates shall *not* be increased beyond the regular charge; for this assurance we have the written agreement of the St. Louis hotels.

*Second.*—All expenses of the Convention shall be paid, including hall, headquarters for committee rooms—for each State—printing and incidental expenses; for this assurance we have the promise of the leading citizens of the city, and their promptness in discharging all such expenses of the Convention of 1876.

*Third.*—All expenses of the National Committee and their families, including cost of transportation to and from St. Louis, and their hospitable entertainment in St. Louis.

Very respectfully,

JOHN S. ELLIOTT, *Chairman.*  
W. H. CLOPTON, *Secretary.*

THOS. F. FARRELLY,

*Sec'y and Treas'r of the Citizens' Finance Committee of St. Louis, Mo.*

At the close of the addresses, the gentlemen representing the several cities withdrew.

Mr. Vilas, of Wisconsin, moved that an informal ballot be taken on the place for holding the Convention.

Mr. Kelly, of Minnesota, moved as a substitute, that the roll be called, and that the members of the Committee declare their choice.

Mr. Cleveland, of New Jersey, moved as a substitute, that the vote be taken by ballot on the call of the States.

Mr. Goudy, of Illinois, asked permission to read the following, before proceeding to take any ballot on choice of place.

THE ARLINGTON, Washington, D. C., Feb'y 22, 1884.

The City of Chicago will furnish:

*First.*—A hall for the Convention, which will be adjusted so as to accommodate any number desired, from five thousand to twenty thousand persons.

*Second.*—To pay all expenses at the hall during the Convention, of every description.

*Third.*—To meet the charges for printing, including such number of the report of proceedings as the Committee wish, to be executed in the manner directed.

*Fourth.*—To furnish free of expense headquarters for the National Committee, and defray all expenses of the members of the Committee while in attendance on the Convention.

*Fifth.*—To meet any other expenses the Committee may deem necessary for the convenience or comfort of the Committee, or Convention.

*Sixth.*—The rates at the hotels shall not be above the ordinary prices.

*Seventh.*—The railroads will furnish the usual reduced rates to all persons coming to the Convention.

Signed, POTTER PALMER, *Chairman of Hotel Committee.*

F. H. WINSTON, *Chairman Committee of Citizens.*

Mr. Cleveland, of New Jersey, renewed his motion that the vote be taken by ballot on the call of the States.

Mr. Kelly, by consent, withdrew his amendment to Mr. Vilas' motion.

Mr. Goudy, of Illinois, united with Mr. Cleveland in his motion that the roll be called and the members of the Committee, as their respective States are called, step forward and deposit their ballot with the Secretary.

Mr. Vilas, by consent, withdrew his original motion, and the motion of Mr. Cleveland, as seconded by Mr. Goudy, was adopted.

The Secretary called the roll of States, and the Chairman announced the result as follows:

Whole number of votes cast,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	38
Baltimore,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0
Chicago,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	15
Cincinnati,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Louisville,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3
St. Louis,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	14
Saratoga,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5— 38

Mr. McHenry, of Kentucky, then withdrew the name of Louisville from the list of names to be voted for.

On motion of Mr. Smalley, of Vermont, the Committee proceeded to a formal ballot to determine the place of holding the Convention.

The Secretary again called the roll, and the Chairman announced the result as follows:

Whole number of votes cast,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	38
Chicago,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	19
St. Louis,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	17
Saratoga,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2— 38

Neither city having received a majority of the votes cast, the Secretary again called the roll, and the Chairman announced as the result:

Whole number of votes cast,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	38
Necessary for a choice,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	20
Chicago,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	21
St. Louis,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	17— 38

The City of Chicago having received a majority of votes cast, the Chairman declared that city to be the choice of the Committee as the place at which the next Convention shall be held.

Mr. Hewitt, of New York, after consultation with members of the Committee, moved to reconsider the vote by which the 24th

day of June, 1884, was fixed as the day upon which to hold the Convention.

This motion was adopted.

Mr. Hewitt moved that the 8th day of July, 1884, be substituted in place of the 24th day of June, as the day to be fixed by this Committee on which to hold such Convention.

This motion was adopted, and the 8th day of July, 1884, was declared to be the day fixed for holding the National Democratic Convention of 1884.

Mr. Morton, of Nebraska, offered a resolution,\* and moved that it be adopted as the form of the call to be issued by the Committee for the Convention.

Mr. Sumpter, of Arkansas, moved to refer the resolution to the Executive Committee.

Mr. Cleveland, of New Jersey: Mr. Chairman, will the fact of that reference be given out to the press as of one of the papers before this Committee for consideration? I want the Chairman to rule on this question: Does the reference of this paper to the Executive Committee make it a paper before this body for its consideration which will get into the press, as such?

The Chairman: I should say not.

Mr. Barbour, of Virginia, moved as a substitute that the usual call for a meeting of the Democratic party of the country be issued by the Executive Committee, in the usual form, naming the time and place for holding such meeting.

Mr. Ransom, of North Carolina, moved as an amendment that the call be prepared by the Executive Committee and submitted to this Committee for approval.

Mr. Prince, of Massachusetts, read the call as appearing in the Official Record of 1868, and moved it as the call to be issued.

Mr. Dawson, of South Carolina, read the following from the Official Record of 1880:

"The National Democratic Committee, having met in the City of Washington on the 23d day of February, 1880, has appointed Tuesday the 22d day of June next, at noon, as the time, and chosen the City of Cincinnati as the place of holding the National Democratic Convention.

Each State is entitled to a representation therein equal to double the number of its Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States.

All Democratic conservative citizens of the United States, irrespective of past political associations and differences, who can unite with us in the effort for pure,

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\* Subsequently withdrawn from the Secretary's desk.



economical and constitutional government, are cordially invited to join in sending Delegates to the Convention."

I move that that be the form of the call just as it stands, *mutatis mutandis*, adding to it, in accordance with Mr. Goudy's resolution, after the words "Congress of the United States," the words "the Democrats of each organized Territory and the District of Columbia are invited to send two Delegates, subject to the decision of the Convention as to their admission."

I would like to modify it by adding after the words, "constitutional government," the words "and the reduction of taxation."

This last modification, "*and the reduction of taxation*," was not accepted. The Secretary read the call as modified and amended by the operation of Mr. Goudy's resolution, and the change of dates and place, and it was adopted as the call to be issued by the Committee, in place of all forms previously offered.

#### OFFICIAL CALL.

"The National Democratic Committee, having met in the City of Washington on the 22d day of February, 1884, has appointed the eighth day of July next, at noon, as the time, and chosen the City of Chicago as the place for holding the National Democratic Convention.

Each State is entitled to a representation therein equal to double the number of its Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States. The Democrats of each organized Territory and the District of Columbia are invited to send two Delegates, subject to the decision of the Convention as to their admission.

All Democratic conservative citizens of the United States, irrespective of past political associations and differences, who can unite with us in the effort for pure, economical and constitutional government, are cordially invited to join in sending Delegates to the Convention."

This was accepted as the call ; and the resolution of Mr. Morton was declared lost, as well as all other proposed forms of call ; and the resolution of Mr. Morton was subsequently withdrawn from the files of the Committee by that gentleman.

Mr. Brown, of Indiana, moved that the Secretary of the Committee be authorized and directed to sign the names of the members of the National Committee to the call as adopted.

This motion was adopted.

Mr. Goudy, of Illinois, moved that a Committee of five be appointed from this Committee, of which the Chairman of this Committee shall be Chairman, to have exclusive charge and management of the arrangements for holding the National Democratic Convention.

This motion was adopted ; the announcement of the appointments on this Committee was postponed.\*

Mr. Dawson, of South Carolina, offered the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That the National Democratic Committee do hereby recommend the National Democratic Convention to authorize and empower the National Democratic Committee to elect a Chairman for that Committee from outside of such Committee, if such Committee shall consider it advantageous to do so.

Mr. Smalley, of Vermont, moved to lay the resolution on the table.

This motion was lost by a rising vote : 20 nays to 14 yeas.

Mr. Goudy, of Illinois, moved that the consideration of the resolution, offered by Mr. Dawson, be indefinitely postponed.

This motion was adopted on a rising vote : 17 yeas to 15 noes.

Mr. Ham, of Iowa, moved that the headquarters of the National Democratic Committee in July, 1884, be fixed at the Palmer House, Chicago.

Mr. Ransom moved to amend by referring the matter to the Committee of Arrangements when appointed.

This amendment was adopted, and the resolution as amended was adopted.

Mr. McHenry, of Kentucky, moved that when the Committee adjourn it do so to meet on Monday, July 7th, 1884, at twelve o'clock noon, at the Palmer House, in the City of Chicago, Illinois.

This motion was adopted.

Mr. Armstrong, of Ohio, offered the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That the National Democratic Committee return their thanks to Hon. William H. Barnum, Chairman, and Hon. Frederick O. Prince, Secretary, for their able and valuable services in the conduct of the campaign of 1880.

This resolution was adopted.

Mr. Dawson, of South Carolina, offered the following resolution and moved that it be referred to the Executive Committee :

*Resolved*, That at the meeting of the National Democratic Convention, now ordered to be held, no person shall be allowed on the floor of the Convention, during its sessions, except the duly appointed Delegates to the Convention, the Officers of the Convention, and the Members and Officers of this Committee, subject

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\* The Committee, as subsequently appointed, consisted of the following gentlemen : Wm. C. Goudy, of Illinois ; Wm. L. Scott, of Pennsylvania ; M. M. Ham, of Iowa ; A. H. Brown, of Indiana ; and William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin.

always to the rules and directions of the Convention when met and organized.

The resolution, and motion to refer, was lost.

On motion of Mr. Brown, of Indiana, the Committee adjourned to meet on Monday, July 7th, 1884, at the Palmer House, Chicago, at twelve o'clock noon of that day.



# COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS

OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

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HON. WM. C. GOUDY, *Chairman*, of Illinois.

HON. M. M. HAM, of Iowa.

HON. AUSTIN H. BROWN, of Indiana.

HON. WM. L. SCOTT, of Pennsylvania.

HON. WM. F. VILAS, of Wisconsin.

J. H. REA, *Secretary*.

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The Sub-Committee of the Democratic National Committee to make arrangements for the next National Convention, to be held in Chicago, July 8, 1884, met in Chicago, July 4, 1884.

Present : William C. Goudy, of Illinois, Chairman ; William L. Scott, of Pennsylvania ; Austin H. Brown, of Indiana ; and M. M. Ham, of Iowa.

On motion, J. H. Rea was appointed Secretary.

On motion of Mr. Ham, of Iowa, the following resolution was offered and adopted :

*Resolved*, That the following local Committees to make arrangements for the Democratic National Convention be appointed to aid this Committee in the discharge of its duties :

## ON FINANCE.

C. P. KIMBALL, *Chairman.*

LYMAN TRUMBULL,	GEO. L. DUNLAP,
POTTER PALMER,	LAMBERT TREE,
F. H. WINSTON,	MICHAEL KEELEY,
E. M. PHELPS,	CHARLES KERN,
J. W. DOANE,	BYRON L. SMITH,
V. C. TURNER,	WM. H. DEVINE,
A. F. SEEBERGER,	C. H. SCHWAB,
J. H. McAVOY,	W. D. KERFOOT.

## ON HALL.

JOSEPH DONNESBERGER, *Chairman.*

S. S. GREGORY,	J. M. BROWN,
M. W. FULLER,	JOSEPH C. MACKIN,
F. A. HOFFMAN, JR.,	JOHN M. DUNPHY,
E. F. CULLERTON,	J. H. HILDRETH,
W. J. HYNES,	JOHN E. VAN PELT,
S. B. CHASE,	RENSSELAER STONE,
RUDOLPH BRAND,	FRANK G. HOYNE,

X. L. OTIS.

## ON RECEPTION.

JOHN FORSYTHE, *Chairman.*

THOMAS J. POTTER,	WM. BEST,
PERRY H. SMITH, JR.,	THOMAS SHIRLEY,
S. CORNING JUDD,	N. W. RYAN,
GEORGE C. WALKER,	JOHN T. NOYES,
JOHN H. COLVIN,	WM. H. SKELLY,

B. E. BREMNER.

On motion of Mr. Scott, of Pennsylvania, the following resolution was offered and adopted :

*Resolved,* That seven hundred and fifty tickets be allowed to the Local Finance Committee to be distributed by them to the subscribers to the fund for the expense of the Convention.

On motion of Mr. Scott, of Pennsylvania, Richard J. Bright, of Indiana, was appointed Sergeant-at-Arms and he was authorized to appoint assistant doorkeepers, ushers, messengers, and other persons, necessary to control and manage the Convention, and subject to the approval of this Committee.

On motion of Mr. Ham, of Iowa, the Hall Committee were instructed to consult with the architect and ascertain the practicability of increasing the seating capacity of the Hall and report the results to this Committee for further action.

On motion, the Committee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chairman.









*Samuel C. C. C.*





*J. F. Hendricks*



## NOTE.

In the preparation of the Record of the Names of the Delegates to the Convention, the Official Stenographer has labored under this great embarrassment :—the report of the Committee on Credentials, upon which he had to rely as official and correct, contained many inaccuracies of initials and spelling ; and the report of the Committee on Organization in its lists of Vice-Presidents and Secretaries, and the names sent to the Stenographer's desk as appointees to various Committees, all seemingly authentic, varied to the extent that, as to some names, *no two lists agreed*. The proofs have been read with extreme care, and every source from which information could be obtained has been consulted. A list of the names, as recorded by the Secretary of the Committee on Arrangements in Chicago was received, but, unfortunately, several weeks after the record had been printed and the forms broken up. While there may be, and probably are, some vexatious errors in the names of Delegates as printed, such errors result from the foregoing facts, and not from any want of care or attention.





# NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

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## FIRST DAY.

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CHICAGO, Illinois, July 8, 1884.

The National Democratic Convention to nominate candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States, assembled in the Exposition Building, in the City of Chicago, this day at 12 o'clock, noon, pursuant to the call of the National Democratic Committee.

Hon. William H. Barnum, of Connecticut, Chairman of the National Democratic Committee, called the Convention to order at 12.35 P. M., in the following words :

THE CHAIR: The Convention will be in order. The Chair has the honor to present the Rev. Dr. Marquis, of Chicago, who will open the deliberations of this Convention with prayer.

### PRAYER.

Almighty and Eternal Jehovah, God of nations and of men, we bow in Thy presence here, acknowledging Thee as the sovereign Lord, and Jesus Christ the only King. We thank Thee for this good land wherein we dwell; for its history in the past that has so endeared it to us, we thank Thee; for the courage, and the patience, and the patriotism of our fathers, we thank Thee; for the mighty deeds of the mighty men of old that won this land from its wilder-

ness, and founded its Government, and proclaimed liberty throughout all its borders, we thank Thee; we thank Thee for its progress in the past, for the abundance of its resources, and for the grandeur of its promise in the future. Almighty God, we humbly entreat Thee to let Thy blessing abide upon this land. Let Thy servant, the President of these United States, and all his counselors, and all our Legislators and our Judges, be filled with the spirit of wisdom from on high. Let all the people throughout all the land be bound together in mutual confidence and charity. Let all self-seeking be suppressed; let all selfish ambition give place to that pure and lofty patriotism that seeks only the Nation's welfare and strives only for the public good. Let truth and righteousness everywhere prevail, and may these things be first in the thought and purpose of all the people; and we ask that Thou wilt cause righteousness, and peace, and temperance everywhere to reign.

Almighty God, command thy blessing upon this great assemblage of representative citizens while they shall deliberate and determine concerning those things that pertain to the government of the Nation. Endow them plentifully with that wisdom which is first pure, then peaceable and gentle, and easy to be entreated. Let nothing here be done through strife or vainglory. Let them be filled with that charity that is not puffed up and doth not behave itself unseemly; and guide all their deliberations to such conclusion as shall best promote Thy glory; as shall best advance Thy kingdom in the world, and best promote the welfare of this great Nation, and to Thy name, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, we ascribe power, and riches, and dominion, and strength through Jesus Christ our Lord. AMEN.

THE CHAIR: Gentlemen of the Convention, harmony seems to be the sentiment of this Convention. Even the air itself seems saturated with a desire, as well as a determination, to nominate a ticket for President and Vice-President satisfactory to the North as well as to the South, to the East as well as to the West—nay, more, a ticket that will harmonize the Democracy of this Union and insure victory in November. Harmony prevailed in the deliberations of the National Committee. No effort has been made to nominate a Temporary Chairman of this Convention in the interest of any candidate, but, on the contrary, one who will preside with absolute impartiality. With this spirit, and to that end, I have been directed by the unanimous vote of the National Committee to nominate the Hon. Richard B. Hubbard, of Texas, for Temporary Chairman.

The question being put to the Convention, Mr. Hubbard was unanimously elected Temporary Chairman of the Convention.

THE CHAIR: The Chair will appoint Senator B. F. Jonas, of Louisiana, the Hon. George T. Barnes, of Georgia, and the Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, of New York, a committee to wait upon Mr. Hubbard and conduct him to the chair.

The Committee thus appointed proceeded to escort Mr. Hubbard to the chair.

THE CHAIR: Gentlemen of the Convention, I have the distinguished honor to present the Hon. Richard B. Hubbard, of Texas, as the absolutely impartial Chairman of this Convention.

Mr. Hubbard addressed the Convention as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. R. B. HUBBARD.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF THE UNION: I am profoundly grateful for the confidence which you have reposed in me in ratifying the nomination of the National Executive Committee, who have done your bidding for the last four years, by your authority. I accept it, my fellow Democrats, not as a tribute to the humble citizen and your fellow Democrat who speaks to you to-day, but rather as a compliment to the great State from whence I come—a State which, more than any other American State, is absolutely cosmopolitan in every fibre of its organization. In its early days and struggles thither came to our relief, as the winds sweep across the sea, men of Illinois and of New York, men of Maine and of New England, men of Georgia and along the coast, and gave their lives at the Alamo and San Jacinto for Texas.

I can only recall, in the brief moments which I shall detain you, the fact that our neighboring sister State—her women, her glorious Spartan women—sent to us the twin cannon that won the best, the glorious victory of San Jacinto.

But above all, we accept it as a tribute to the fact, my fellow Democrats, that Texas now, with over two millions of people, gladly at each recurring election places in the ballot-box over one hundred thousand Democratic majority.



Fellow Democrats, we have met upon an occasion of great and absorbing interest to our party as well as to our common country. The occasion would not justify nor demand an attempt to speak to you of the great party and its distinctive principles through two-thirds of the most glorious history of our country. I could not stop to discuss, if I would, its magnificent policy of progress, the part which it has taken in building up our country, its prowess, its territories and its wealth. I can only say to you, in brief, that the Democratic party, in all essential elements, is the same as it was when founded by the framers of the Constitution nearly three-quarters of a century ago.

Men die as the leaves of Autumn, but principles underlying liberty and self-government, the right of representation and taxation going hand in hand, economy in the administration of its Government, placing the burdens as least they may be upon the millions who constitute our countrymen—these and others are principles underlying the Democratic party, which cannot perish from the earth, though their authors may sleep for ages. I thank God, fellow-citizens, that, though we have been out of power for a quarter of a century, we are to-day, in all that makes adherence, confidence and zeal, as much a party organized for aggressive war as when victory perched upon the banners which waved above our heads. The Democratic party, fellow-citizens, since the war time, commencing with reconstruction, with our hands menaced, with our ballot-boxes surrounded by gleaming bayonets, with carpet-bag rulers, with voices stifled—the voices of free men who pay their taxes to the Government—has lived to see through all this misrule the day come when, in a great majority of our States, the Democratic party has resumed its control and its power. It has your House of Representatives, and but for treason stalking in the Senate Chambers it would have had that, too.

We have had the Presidency too, but with impious hand—the hand of the robber—our rights were stricken down at the ballot, and through perjury, and bribery, and corruption, men uttering falsehood through pale lips and chattering teeth, in the very temples of liberty, stole the Presidency from this great people. Some of the men who participated in it have passed beyond the river and stand to give an account of their stewardship; but history does not lie when it records, as it has, that that Electoral Commission, announced in the Senate Chamber and the House that they would consider the question and the evidence of fraud in returning the vote of Louisiana

when the law was passed—aye, you remember it—it is the blackest page of our country's history ; and all good Republicans to-day are ashamed of it. They turned their faces as well as their consciences back upon the promises of the past and refused to consider the evidence all reeking with ignominy, bribery and shame, and counted in a man who had not received, under the Constitution and the laws, the suffrages of his countrymen. That is a wrong which we have met here to right.

Eight years have passed ; that is true ; we are told that the law has given the verdict to them. That is true, of the jury in its box, under the statute of your State, and the Judge upon the bench, who holds the scales of justice uneven, with guilty hand holding a parchment from the Executive of your State, but innocence may sit in the box, though condemned to death under the ægis of law. It is what all the law writers and civilization for hundreds of years have characterized and condemned as legal murder. So the great sin of that Electoral Commission remains to-day unpunished, and ever will be unavenged so long as the Republican party is in power in this country. But I thank God that there is no statute of limitations running in favor of that crime.

And in that connection, my fellow Democrats, be it said to the credit of the Democratic party, they exhibited none of that spirit of Hotspur nor of the pirate, nor of that spirit which sought to engulf this country, fresh as it was upon the heels of a great fratricidal war, but our great leaders, Tilden and Hendricks,—[the speaker was interrupted at this point by prolonged demonstrations of applause]—with the dignity that became heroic statesmen, with the courage of men who loved their country better than its patronage and its power, accepted, though wronged and injured, the verdict of perjury and fraud ; and they are grander to-day in their defeat than the men who won power at the expense of justice and truth. Thus we have succeeded in the face of Federal power. We would have succeeded in 1880 but for Federal gold and Federal greenbacks fresh and uncut from Washington—money earned and held by star-route contractors and the loving friends of a venal Administration. They bought the Presidency.

Fellow Democrats, we want reform, God knows, not only in the *personnel*—in the men, as well as in the measures of the Government as it is. We want men there whose very lives and whose very names shall be a platform to this people. We want men there who shall, in all the departments of the Government—in its Department

of Justice, in its monetary affairs, in its Interior Department, everywhere—follow its servants with the eye of the ministers of justice and see that every cent that belongs to the Government shall remain with the Government ; that no tribute shall be demanded except the tribute that is due the Government ; that no assessments upon a hundred thousand office-holders shall be paid—\$100,000,000 annually—\$5,000,000 to go into a corrupt political fund. These, thank God, will be corrected when the Democratic party shall get into power once more.

We read of the enunciation of principles by the Republican party. They tell us of civil service reform, and yet they demand in the next breath from every Federal office-holder of the 100,000 their contribution to the corrupt fund that shall be paid out to the voters at the polls. They tell us they have a Puritan government, and yet not a solitary felon has been condemned in the dock of those who have stolen the millions from the Treasury. Your civil service committee only of yesterday and the days before, tell us of perjury and corruption and bribery that run all along through the ministers of justice in the transactions of the Government.

We want real reform—a reform, my countrymen, that shall mean what it says and that will say what it means. Moreover—and I shall briefly close—fellow-citizens, it is not my business as your presiding officer to-day, to enunciate anything that shall constitute a platform. Thank God, that would exist forever in the heart, if every one that had been adopted for fifty years were burnt up—it is *lex non scripta*, the doctrine which we have inherited from a glorious ancestry that has become a part of the tradition of the fathers.

But I wish to say one thing in this great assemblage of free men : When your Committee on Platform meets it is the humble suggestion of one who loves his cause that you will endeavor to unite upon the basis of the principles which we have advocated for the years that are gone, and that you will leave no Delphic Oracle speaking with double tongue in the platform that shall be adopted by this Convention. Let the Green Mountain boys of Vermont and the men of Maine, of Texas, and of Louisiana, of Georgia, and the Carolinas, to the Golden Coast read it all in our blessed vernacular, the purest English tongue, that shall say what we mean, so that a wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein. And in saying this we will declare against the corruptions of the Government that is. We will declare against the enormities of its civil service, its departments of so-called justice, the abuse of its postal service, the robbery in high

places by the men in power. It will say, moreover, that the burdens of the Government—I hope it will say it—shall be placed alike equally, equitably upon all classes of our countrymen, having regard for the greatest good of the greatest number; that the hundreds of millions of surplus revenue shall not be allowed to accumulate as a corruption fund, and that there shall be a reformation and a reduction in the taxes, as well as reforms in the methods of taxation in our country.

But, fellow-citizens, in conclusion, let me say that harmony and conciliation should rule your counsels. There never was a time in the history of the Democratic party when the enemy invites victory to our side as now. A great, unnumbered host of dissatisfied men of the Republican party are heard in the distance, in New England, in the North, on the Lakes, in the West—everywhere; and, while the Democratic party should not deviate one iota from its principles, it should, with open arms, say to these men, hundreds of thousands God grant there may be, “Here—here is a party of the Constitution that loves the Union, that loves our common country. Come hither and go with us for honest rule, for honest government.” The Democratic party, while it may have its local differences, when the onset and the charge come will be together, whomever you may nominate of all the great and good names that are before you, from the East to the West, from the North to the South. He who stands back in the hour of peril, forsooth because his own State or himself shall not have received the choice, the earnest choice of his heart, is less than a good Democrat, and hardly a patriot in this our country’s hour of need. The Democratic party is a loyal, a Union party. The “bloody shirt,” in the vulgar parlance of the time, has at each recurring election been flaunted in the face of Southern Democrats, and in your faces. With Logan on the ticket, I presume it will be again. Blaine could hardly afford it, not having indulged much in that war. They will endeavor to stir up the bad blood of the past. My countrymen, the war is over for a quarter of a century, and they know it. Why, our boys have married young maidens of the Northland, and children have been born to them since those days. They will continue to go to the altar, and side by side at dying-beds they will talk of that bourne whence no traveler returns, and will lie down and be buried together. Why, the boys of the blue and the grey have slept together for a quarter of a century upon a thousand fields of common glory. Let their bones alone. They are representing the best blood of the land, and, though differing in a contest that



should be forgotten, our countrymen of to-day, the good men of all parties, thank God, have united in the great, common progress of our race, to forget the war memories of the war time.

I thank you, fellow-citizens, for your attention, trusting that your forbearance will be extended to me. What mistakes I shall make doubtless you will treat lightly and kindly, with corrective hand. Hoping that success may crown your efforts, and that you may send a ticket to our country upon whom all may unite is the wish of him whom you have honored with your suffrage this day.

THE CHAIR: Gentlemen of the Convention, there is a further report of the National Committee, which will now be submitted for the action of this body.

HON. F. O. PRINCE (Secretary of the National Committee): The National Democratic Committee make the following report on temporary organization:

#### TEMPORARY ORGANIZATION.

*For Temporary Chairman*—Hon. Richard B. Hubbard, of Texas.

*Temporary Secretary*—Hon. Frederick O. Prince, of Massachusetts.

*Assistant Secretaries*—E. L. Merritt, of Illinois; George W. Guthrie, of Pennsylvania; G. L. Johnson, of Iowa; Robert M. Bashford, of Wisconsin; Charles M. Vallandigham, of Ohio; H. J. Lynn, of Tennessee, and Michael T. Barrett, of New Jersey.

*Reading Clerks*—Hon. Nicholas M. Bell, of Missouri; G. O. Walker, of Iowa; Thomas S. Pettit, of Washington, D. C.; James E. Morrison, of New York; William L. May, of Nebraska; H. L. Bryan, of Delaware; Ansel Oppenheim, of Minnesota.

*Official Stenographer*—Edward B. Dickinson, of New York.

*Sergeant-at-Arms*—Richard J. Bright, of Indiana.

The report was unanimously adopted.

MR. SMALLEY, of Vermont: Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment to offer.

THE CHAIR: I will request gentlemen of the Convention, when addressing the Chair, to state not only their names distinctly, but the States from which they come. I see the flags very well, but I might be mistaken.

MR. SMALLEY, of Vermont: I will state for the benefit of the Convention that there is a paper sent up by me suggesting changes in a slight degree in the former resolution of the National Committee; this has been done by the unanimous vote of the National Committee, and I am instructed to present it in the form of a resolution.

THE CHAIR: It will be read by the Secretary.

The Reading Clerk read the following:

*“Resolved, That the rules of the last Democratic Convention\* govern this body until otherwise ordered, subject to the following modification: ‘That in voting for candidates for President and Vice-President no State shall be allowed to change its vote until the roll of the States has been called and every State has cast its vote.’”*

MR. GRADY, of New York: Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment and request that it be read by the Secretary.

THE CHAIR: The amendment offered by Mr. Grady will be read by the Reading Clerk.

The amendment was read by the Reading Clerk, as follows:

*“And when the vote of a State, as announced by the Chairman of the Delegation from such State, is challenged by any member of the Delegation, then the Secretary shall call the names of the individual Delegates from the State, and their individual preferences, as expressed, shall be recorded as the vote of such State.”*

THE CHAIR: Gentlemen, the question recurs on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York to the resolution offered by Mr. Smalley, of Vermont, a member of the National Executive Committee, at the instance of that Committee. Are you ready for the question?

MR. FELLOWS, of New York: Mr. Chairman, I desire to address to the Convention a few suggestions which, it seems to me, should influence their action with reference to the amendment sent up by

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\* A careful examination of the official records of National Democratic Conventions reveals the fact that each Convention, in turn, adopted the rules of the preceding Convention as far back as 1856. The Convention of 1856 adopted the rules of the Convention of 1852; but the official stenographer has been unable to procure a copy of the proceedings of that Convention (if any was published). What the rules were originally, cannot be stated with certainty; but by common consent they are understood to be the rules governing the U. S. House of Representatives, so far as applicable.

my colleague from New York. The State Convention of the State of New York, whose ambassadors and representatives alone we are upon this floor, elected by its will, and clothed with all the authority that we possess by its action and by none other, have directed—not requested—but have directed that in compliance with immemorial usage of the Democratic party in that State the sentiment of its Delegation shall first be ascertained through the expression of a majority, and that New York, thereafter, shall give voice to that expression by the vote of its Delegation as a unit.

Boldly, sir, and plainly, in no spirit of acrimony, but with an earnest desire that the trust reposed in us shall be accompanied by the conditions which those who gave the trust laid upon us, I challenge the right of this Convention to defeat the will of New York as expressed by the majority in its Convention. Sirs, you shall not, at least, strip from the brows of our sovereign Queen her crown without a protest upon the part of some of her loyal subjects. New York, I repeat, gave us our authority. We stand here as representatives elected by no Congressional districts, but by a Convention called according to the usages of our party in the State of New York, assembled at Saratoga Springs. Every element of our party in that State was represented upon the floor of that Convention. That Convention by its vote elected seventy-two Delegates to represent the State of New York and express her will upon the floor of our National Convention. And in conferring upon us this high trust they told us the methods under which we must exercise that trust in her behalf.

I beg leave, for the information of this Convention, to read what the majesty and sovereignty of the Empire State had to say to those whom she appointed to express her will in the National Council :

*“Resolved, That the Delegates to the Democratic National Convention to be appointed are hereby instructed to enter that Convention as a unit and to vote and act as a unit in accordance with the will of a majority of the members of the Delegation. Every Delegate, or alternate accepting or occupying the place of a Delegate, is to be bound by this rule.”*

Sir, such was the solemn injunction laid upon us by our State. We may not violate it. Maine, Massachusetts, Kentucky and Texas have no right to decide what the will of New York is.

We have met to advise with you. We are here to counsel together. When the voice of the Nation has declared its will, New York will

heartily accede to its command and go in the van of the column in the methods and under the leadership it may order. But as to the mere methods and forms that are to govern our delegated action here, New York alone has the right to command us.

But a word or two further upon this subject. New York presented that resolution in its Convention. The gentleman who presented the amendment sat upon the floor of that Convention as a Delegate. That resolution which I have read in your hearing, gentlemen of the Democratic party of the Nation, received the vote of every Delegate present in that Convention. New York did not instruct her Delegates that upon any question decided by the expression of her majority they should vote as three, four, or five units in the common sum; but as a unit upon all questions, her seventy-two votes are to be cast, unless we violate the obligation which New York has laid upon us.

Now to the purpose and intendment of the amendment. When the voice of New York is asked for in this Convention the majority of its Delegation, by more than two-thirds, have declared that the Chairman of our Delegation shall cast seventy-two votes in accordance with that expressed will. I do not deny the right of any member of this Delegation to get upon his feet in this council of free men and free speech and state the reasons which impel him to differ with the action of the majority, but what I do mean to say is this: That when the majority will is ascertained, by the instructions of our State, our State must have its appropriate dignity, its appropriate character and strength, by speaking its voice as one man and giving seventy-two votes. You are asked, gentlemen of this Convention, to disregard the sentiment of our great State and permit each member of this Delegation to vote as an individual in violation of its instructions. I bid you pause long and consider carefully, gentlemen of our sister States, brethren whom we love in the fellowship of a common cause, you who look to our State to have its place close up to the head of your victorious column this Fall—I bid you consider long and well before by your vote you strike down ruthlessly the sovereign power of our State expressed by the unanimous will of its Delegates in State Convention assembled through the resolution that I have read in your hearing.

THE CHAIR: The Chair recognizes Mr. Grady, of New York.

Mr. Menzies, of Indiana, sent up an amendment to the amendment.



THE CHAIR : While the amendment is pending you (Mr. Grady) are entitled to the floor ; pending which, however, an amendment has been offered to the amendment.

THE SECRETARY : An amendment to the amendment offered by Mr. Menzies, of Indiana :

“No State shall change its vote until the result of the ballot has been announced.”

THE CHAIR : The gentleman from New York has the floor ; Senator Grady.

ADDRESS OF HON. THOS. F. GRADY OF NEW YORK.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I desire to address to this Convention a few plain words in reference to the position taken by the gentlemen upon the Delegation from New York, in whose behalf I have offered the amendment sent to the Clerk's desk. It is a part of the misrepresentation which has filled the corridors of your hotels and public buildings regarding the position of the Delegation from New York and the people of that State, to say that there are less than sixty-eight independent Delegates from New York upon this floor representing Congressional District constituencies that no State Convention or State machine has the power of gagging or disfranchising. Our State Convention met ; our people from each of the Assembly districts sent their Delegates, and at that State Convention the Delegates from each Congressional district met as a Congressional Convention and selected their Delegates and handed in the names to the Committee on Electors and Delegates, to have them reported to the Convention as selected by the Congressional Delegations, so that from the Congressional Delegations the Chairman of our Convention would make up the proper credentials for our appearance here. I am here to say to you that there is no danger of this Convention stripping the crown from the brow of the Queen State of New York ; but there is danger—there is great danger, fellow Democrats, that through the power and influence of political machinery the honest, truthful voice of New York may not have an effective expression upon this floor.

The gentleman refers to the fact that I was a Delegate to the State Convention and sat in my seat, when what he calls the unit rule was adopted by that body. Four Delegates-at-large were chosen by the State Convention. The State Convention can give to its four Delegates-at-large just such instruction as it pleases, and they can carry

them out ; but coming from a Congressional district, I am here to voice only the sentiment of that district, and I mistake Democracy itself if there is any power in a Democratic Convention which will hush my voice. Why, sir, the gentleman protests against this body, the grand council of the Democratic party, making its own rules, and finding out the truth in the only way that the truth can be ascertained. You can buy newspapers to print at the head of their column, "Seventy-two New York solid votes." Call the roll and we will show you the vote is not solid, and there is no power in the political machinery of New York State to make it so.

Now, sir, the State of New York has a regulation that no man holding a State office within a hundred days of the election is eligible to a seat in Congress ; and yet we regularly elect Congressmen holding State offices, and they go down to Washington, and there is no talk of stripping from the brow of the Queen anything the Queen has on. It is idle pretence to say that the State of New York had it in its power, for instance, to say to Delegates coming from Congressional districts that we must follow any other than the instructions we got from our people at home. The incarnation of the old Democratic doctrine is home rule, and the constituency that I represent has a right upon this floor, that I should not only make known my objections to any candidate, but that I shall have the essential attribute of that right, and that is a vote, to go behind what I say.

The gentleman refers to the fact that by a vote of more than two-thirds the Delegates have instructed the Chairman to cast the entire vote of our Delegation for a candidate. He doesn't tell you that it took a long while to get even a majority of that two-thirds together. He doesn't tell you the influences that were exerted in that behalf. He doesn't tell you that men who came here strong for one candidate voted for another. He doesn't tell you that if you pass this resolution there are resolute men upon the Delegation from New York, who will not only give you the reason why one candidate should not be nominated, but will have the right to give their votes to that candidate who they think can win. I want to say—

THE CHAIR : Gentlemen of the Convention, we must have order. Each side must be treated alike.

A DELEGATE : It is the galleries.

THE CHAIR : I address the galleries especially. The Convention is in very good order.

MR. GRADY : Mr. Chairman—

MR. HARRIS, of Virginia : I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIR : The gentleman will state his point of order.

MR. HARRIS : My point of order is : Pending the temporary organization it is not in order to transact any business—to offer any resolution for adoption or discussion. It ought to go to the Committee which can properly consider it when appointed. We don't know now, and it has not been determined, who are the members of this Convention. It is in the power of the temporary organization to provide rules and regulations for the government of the Convention. We are not properly organized and permanently organized. And, therefore, I make the point of order that this resolution ought to go to the Committee on Resolutions when appointed.

THE CHAIR : The point of order is made by the gentleman from Virginia, that at this stage of the proceedings of the Convention a motion to adopt rules for this body would not be in order. According to the proceedings of the National Convention of 1880, immediately after the temporary organization a resolution was offered that "the rules of the last National Democratic Convention govern this body until otherwise ordered," and the resolution was adopted, antecedent to the creation of the Committee upon Credentials, upon Permanent Organization, and upon Platform. The same action was taken in the Convention of 1876, the proceedings of which I have before me. Following the precedents of preceding Conventions I rule the point of order not well taken, and the gentlemen from New York has the floor and will proceed, unless he has yielded it.

MR. GRADY : I desire at the outset to say to the distinguished Chairman that I hope he feels on my account no discomfiture for any marks of disapproval that shall take a form unworthy of any Democrat. I know that no man on this floor who is a Democrat will find any fault with my speech, even if he does not agree with it himself, and I am only looking for the attention of Democrats. Those who may have found a place here by false pretences—their action, even if it takes the form of hisses, can have no effect upon me.

I was saying to you that when the Delegation left the State of New York their voice was understood to be decidedly one way. We came to Chicago believing it to be that way. We had every reason for that belief. But political combinations, or something

stronger, it appears, than the people's will, have wrought a change. And so we make this, the only protest that we can make—make it to you, Democrats, for the honor of your party; make it to you for the honor of your country; make it to you so that New York may take *some* place in the Democratic column. Don't allow the Delegation from this State to be controlled in any other manner than the people who sent us here desire that it shall be.

That is what we believe to be representative government, and when the people express their wish it becomes the law. That law, that expression of the popular will, goes higher than any unauthorized resolution of a Convention or Committee. It is the highest law; it is the voice of God itself, and we are here asking you to give us the chance to show you truly how the Delegation from New York stands, to show to you the difference between its standing and the false representations that have been made in the committee-room of every Delegation. Let that record be made up, and then whatever may be the action of this Convention we stand alongside of the gentleman who last addressed you to do all in our power, to work as earnestly as men can work, to work as effectually as any of our brothers shall work, to bring victory to whomever may be the candidate of this Convention.

All we ask is that the vote of a great State may not misrepresent—rather than represent—the voice of a great people. I go back to my constituency just as the gentleman goes back to his. If they favor his course he gains their approval and indorsement; if they oppose his course, he receives their condemnation and rebuke. There is no Congressional Delegate upon this floor who, if the vote of New York be polled as the vote of every State is to be polled—no Delegate here from any Congressional district who does not stand ready, in face of whatever may be the result, to pledge to you his life, his honor, and such fortune as he may have to your success in this great battle which means either that our country shall be relieved from the maladministration from which it has so long suffered, or that once again the Democratic Party and its glorious principles are to stand defeat. There will be no defeat if this Convention adopts the old Democratic method—let every man speak his sentiments, vote for his sentiments, and then, whosoever's sentiments prevail, let all of us give them a hearty support.



## ADDRESS OF HON. J. R. DOOLITTLE, OF WISCONSIN.

MR. PRESIDENT: This question is a fundamental one, and one upon which, without any excitement, or feeling, or prejudice, I desire to submit a few words to the consideration of this Convention. The question is this: Has the State the right to speak for itself in this Convention or not? In the election of a President under the Constitution of the United States the States speak as a unit—all of them. The State cannot speak in any other mode in the choice of a President than as a unit. What is this great Convention? We do not elect a President, it is true, but we name a man to be elected President of the United States. How shall we name him? Ought we not to name him under the authority of the separate States, just as we elect him after he has been nominated?

I agree that if any State shall by its own will and law provide that the Electors for President and Vice-President shall be chosen by separate districts the State can do so. The State, by law, can have them all chosen upon one general ticket, but when they come to vote, the majority of the Electors for President and Vice-President give the vote of the whole State not of half a State. Therefore, sir, as the great Democratic party of this country is the only party which defends the Constitution and defends the rights of the States, so far as they are not delegated away by the Constitution; as this great Democratic party is the party to defend the Constitution and to defend the rights of the States as well as the rights of the Union, let us be very cautious before we assume, in a Democratic Convention, that the State itself has not the power to direct its Delegates how they shall cast their votes.

I know, Mr. President, that in the Republican party—a party which believes that Congress and the Federal Government have every power which is not expressly denied, and that the States have hardly any rights left which the Federal Government is bound to respect—they can adopt in their Convention this idea that the State does not control its own Delegation in a National Convention. Not so in the Convention of the great Democratic party. We stand, Mr. President, for the rights of the States. We do not, by declaring ourselves in favor of the rights of the States, declare that the Federal Government has not its rights also; and the Federal law and the Federal Constitution have provided that the votes for President shall be by States, and that the voice of the State shall be obeyed by its Delegates.

MR. O. W. POWERS, of Michigan: Mr. President—I move you that the resolution of Mr. Grady, of New York, be relegated to the Committee on Rules, when it is appointed, for its action.

THE CHAIR: The motion is not in order, for we have no Committee on Rules in force yet.

MR. POWERS: When appointed—to the Committee on Rules when appointed—that the motion be referred to the Committee on Credentials and Rules for its action.

THE CHAIR: The motion is made to refer these resolutions—what is your motion? State it again.

MR. POWERS: To relegate the resolution to the Committee on Credentials and Rules, hereafter to be appointed.

THE CHAIR: We have no such committee as yet. The Committee on Credentials is a distinct committee. We have no provision for a Committee on Rules. But this Convention can do whatever it pleases.

MR. POWERS: That it be relegated to whatever committee will present rules to the Convention—that this resolution be relegated to that committee.

MR. JOHN T. HARRIS, of Virginia: Mr. President.

THE CHAIR: On the motion to refer I recognize the gentleman from New York [Mr. W. B. Cockran, alternate for J. J. O'Donohue].

MR. HARRIS: I rise to make a point of order.

THE CHAIR: What is it?

MR. HARRIS: The gentleman cannot assume that there is to be such a committee appointed, or what the powers of the committee will be. So far they are for the temporary government of the Convention.

THE CHAIR: The Chair does not recognize the gentleman's point of order. The gentleman makes the motion that this matter be referred to the Committee that may be appointed. The Convention can do so or not. It is not for the Chair to determine whether they will or not. His motion is that the matter be relegated to such committee as may hereafter be named. There is no such committee now.

The question being put, the motion to refer was declared lost.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from New York, Mr. Cockran, has the floor.

A DELEGATE: Is the gentleman a Delegate?

MR. COCKRAN: Yes; I am the alternate of Joseph J. O'Donohue.

ADDRESS OF HON. W. BOURKE COCKRAN, OF NEW YORK.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I desire to say but a few words to this Convention. [Cries of "Platform."] My place is on the floor, and from the floor I propose to speak in good old Democratic fashion to what I trust will be a good-tempered and deliberate Democratic Convention. I do not suffer under the disadvantage of having been present at the meeting of the New York Delegation, where much has been said which may have awakened the passions and the sensibilities of the Delegates as to the various candidates whom they support. The few words that I desire to utter here upon the floor I hope will be accepted by the intelligence of the Convention, for they are not intended to be addressed to its passions. I cannot follow the gentleman from New York through all the various conflicting figures and metaphors which seem to be strewn all along his rhetoric, but I know that the object with which this resolution of Mr. Grady is now opposed is to stifle the voice of a powerful minority; and I trust that no Democratic Convention will ever lend itself to a gagging process at the very moment when it is about to ask the confidence of the country as the result of its labors in the selection of a President.

What, sir, are the tawdry sophisms which the gentleman from New York, and my colleague, has advanced for the consideration of this Convention? He talks about the majesty of the State and of her queenly brow, figures which he may assume in poems, but which are not proper to a practical discussion of politics. The fact is, that by that system of political machinery which has grown to be the curse of New York politics, an impression is now sought to be made upon the floor of this Convention which was concealed in the councils of the State Convention, which was suppressed by the very gentlemen who now seek to take advantage of the subterfuge by which they claim we are instructed to vote as a unit. I am stating here nothing but what the history of the Convention will justify, and I ask the attention of this Convention to the further fact that the unit rule has always been the potent device by which political managers and poli-

tical engineers have sought to give a false expression to the opinions of the voters of the State and pervert rather than to express their voice upon the floor of a deliberative body. Has the memory of 1880 passed away from the minds of the Delegates who sit here upon this floor, and has the lesson taught by the Republican Convention—the Convention of a party which we accuse of perjury and of every form of political heresy—has its enlightened action been lost upon this body, representative of that pure patriotic force which we mean when we mention the word Democracy? In 1880 an attempt was made in this very city to deliver the Convention of the Republican party to the support of Gen. Grant for a third term in the Presidency of these United States. Every man of sense throughout the community knew that that was an outrage upon representative rights, and that it was only by the operation of State instructions and unit rules that the nomination could be accomplished; and the manacles which these political managers sought to place upon the wrists of Delegates in the Convention were broken by the act of that body, and the managers who sought to throw the spirit of liberty and of free speech, which is the life and soul of Democracy, prostrate under the grinding wheels of an odious machine were defeated by the acts of a party that we to-day denounce as being unworthy of the confidence of the country.

Gen. T. J. Clunie, of California, rose to address the Convention.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from New York has the floor.

MR. COCKRAN: Does the gentleman want to ask a question?

GEN. CLUNIE: No; I thought the gentleman had finished.

MR. COCKRAN: What is the argument that the gentleman from New York has further advanced? He says that when this resolution was offered in the State Convention, the gentleman who now proposes that every Delegate upon the floor of this Convention shall have the right of a free expression of opinion, was silent and did not raise his voice in opposition to it. I confess that to be true. I confess that I was in that Convention, and I remained silent. But, giving the gentleman the full length of his argument, our silence in the Convention cannot betray the rights of a great party, and, although we were silent because we believed that the majority of the Delegation were coming here pledged to a candidate who is not the choice of the Delegation to-day, still the fact remains that whatever may have



been done in the State Convention of New York, it cannot be assumed to control the action of the members who represent the National Democracy in this body. Now, sir, when that resolution was passed, if it had any meaning at all—if there could be any sense in the unit rule—it would be when a Delegation is instructed for a certain man, for a certain candidate, or for a certain principle. Does the resolution which the gentleman from New York read here contain the slightest instruction to the Delegation as to whom they shall support? Does it say a word as to the sense of the Convention and the action of the Delegates here? And if these sinister influences which have caused a revolution of sentiment in the minds of a majority of the New York Delegation; if the mysterious methods which caused one large body of Delegates to express their preferences at the very eleventh hour, and thereby decide the complexion of the Delegation itself; if these results of the labors of small politicians are to be taken as the expression of the voice of a great State, then, Mr. Chairman, in this very Convention, in this great council of the Democracy, in this great gathering of the wisdom of the party, we are prepared to announce in advance that free speech and free deliberation are thrown out of the window, and that the members of the Delegation are prepared to submit themselves to the management of a few gentlemen whose operations in New York have not been entirely successful; who, after our party had 200,000 majority in 1882, left the State in a minority of 17,000 for our party in 1883.

The words that I have said, sir, are not for any particular candidate; nay, more, they are not designed to defeat any particular candidate, but there is no power in this Convention that I know of which will make the Recording Secretary place upon the minutes of this body a living lie simply because a resolution in the New York State Convention assumes to falsify our votes; and if the Chairman of the New York Delegation records me, and records twenty-four of my colleagues, as voting for a certain candidate for whom they have already announced their determination not to cast their votes, then he records, sir, what is not true. In fact, when the Secretary of the Convention proceeds to record me in a way that my lips deny, he performs an outrage upon free speech, and reduces representative bodies to a comedy and a farce, to which I hope they will never be reduced in this land of the free, and especially in this council of the free and enlightened Democracy.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from California, Mr. Clunie, has the floor.

## ADDRESS OF HON. T. J. CLUNIE, OF CALIFORNIA.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: We came all the way from California to vote for the greatest political reformer of the age, Samuel J. Tilden, of New York. We looked to the great Empire State to lead us in this struggle, but we do not want to start wrong. I apprehend that every Delegate in this Convention who was patriotic enough to come here, came here for the single purpose of success in the coming election. I understand, Mr. President, that the call for the Delegates to this Convention was made so many from each Congressional district and so many from the State at large. I think that it would be undemocratic, I think that it would be an outrage for a great National Democratic Convention to permit a majority of any State in this Union to deprive the minority of their representation. I, in the name of California, can say to you, that whoever may receive the endorsement of this Convention, will receive the hearty support of the Golden State. We do not want to let it go abroad that the great National Democratic Convention of 1884 will not permit the humblest Delegate representing the humblest constituency in this great country to represent them as his people want him to do. I believe that it is an honorable aspiration for any citizen to become President of the greatest country in the world. It is well known that in the great Empire State of New York there are two candidates whose names will be presented to this Convention. It is well known that there are several districts that want to vote for a certain man, and several others that want to vote for the other gentlemen.

Now, I ask you, in the name of justice, in the name of decency, in the name of fair-dealing to all the people of this great land, and lastly, in the name of Democratic principles, is it right to deprive any district of the right to vote in the way the constituency of that particular district wants to vote? All we want is a fair deal, gentlemen, and you will find that we will rally under the Democratic banner no matter whom you may select; but let us have harmony; let us have a square deal, and there is no power on earth that will prevent the grand old Democratic party from marching to victory in the coming election.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Michigan, Mr. Powers, has the floor.

## ADDRESS OF HON. O. W. POWERS, OF MICHIGAN.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In behalf of the Democratic party that has always recognized the rights of the minority, in behalf of the amendment of the Senator from New York [Mr. Grady], why should we attempt to stifle the voice of a single Delegate in this Democratic Convention? I care not what the precedents may be; I care not what men may desire. It is not right to say, as was suggested by the eloquent gentleman from California [Mr. Clunie], that the humblest member from the humblest district in the land shall be refused permission here in this great Convention to represent his constituency.

We look abroad over the country to-day and we see the great mass of independent voters looking toward us for a leader who will take them from machine rule and take them away from machine government. Why, then, should we say that that which is a lie must be perpetrated here? That New York, that does not send seventy-two votes, must be counted here as seventy-two votes. Why should gentlemen present here a Reform candidate, and at the same time attempt to nominate him by machine methods? It is not right. And if we act wisely and well we will give to every member his voice and vote. Let them represent those who are behind them—the people of this land. For this is a people's Government, and that is a Democratic principle. If we give them that, success will come; but by the "gag rule" it never will come. And I hope the amendment will pass.

MR. CARTER H. HARRISON, of Illinois: Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIR: Will the gentleman state his name? The gentleman from Illinois has the floor. Will he please state his name?

MR. HARRISON: Mr. Harrison, of Illinois.

THE CHAIR: Mr. Harrison has the floor.

## ADDRESS OF HON. CARTER H. HARRISON, OF ILLINOIS.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is, whether this Convention shall make its rules or not. We are told that the gentlemen from New York, the Delegates, are instructed to vote as a unit. That may be true. If they fail to vote as they have been instructed, then they disobey their State. But this Convention has nothing to do with that. It is for them to return to their constituents and say to their constituents whether they have done well or done badly; not for us here. I want harmony. I don't know but when the time comes the gen-

tleman from New York, Mr. Grady, and I may be wide from each other in whom we shall vote for. It is not a question of candidates. But, sir, suppose the Chairman of the State of Illinois announces that Illinois casts so many votes for one man and so many for another. If he has cast it improperly, have I not the right to challenge that vote? The Chairman of the New York Delegation will announce, if he chooses, seventy-two votes from New York; but, sir, there is a man, or a dozen of men, or there may be forty men, saying that the Chairman has not announced it correctly. Are we here on every question to be compelled to ask whether the State has instructed for the unit rule or not? That is not for this Convention to decide. We make our rules, and our rules should be that every man when challenging the vote of the Chairman must be heard, and must be rightly recorded. And for the sake of harmony, if there be one, two, or five men from a State that want to challenge the vote, they should have that right. I want an honest vote. And I probably shall vote in opposition to my friend from New York on every occasion, but I want a free vote at all times.

THE CHAIR: Hon. John C. Jacobs, of New York, has the floor.

ADDRESS OF HON. J. C. JACOBS, OF NEW YORK.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am one of the minority of the New York Delegation. As one of the minority I exercised my privilege of voting against the choice of the majority, but as a Democrat, as a man loyal to my constituents and obedient to the orders of the Convention that sent me here, I bow to the will of that majority. I recollect very well, sir, that at the Saratoga Convention this matter was thoroughly discussed, and the Chairman of the Delegation whom I antagonized there promised, and his friends promised, that there should be no attempt made to instruct this Delegation for any particular candidate, and the minority agreed that we should obey the old rule—the unit rule of the State of New York—which gives it voice and power in this Convention. Were I, sir, to consult my personal feelings, I should support the motion made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Grady], but my duty to my party in this emergency compels me to rise superior to personal considerations and endeavor to be loyal to my party; and in saying what I have said here, sir——

SENATOR GRADY: Will the gentleman allow me a word?

SENATOR JACOBS: Certainly.



THE CHAIR: Will the gentleman yield?

SENATOR JACOBS: I will.

SENATOR GRADY: I simply want to ask the distinguished gentlemen from New York if, in the State Convention at Saratoga, there was a single word of discussion or agreement as to the unit rule?

SENATOR JACOBS: Not a word, because everybody had agreed to it in advance. And, Mr. Chairman, now that the distinguished Senator has interrupted me, I will say further that it was understood by the friends of another candidate than the one chosen by the majority, that if they would not attempt to enforce instructions upon this Delegation they would be satisfied to fight the battle out in its body. We have done it, we are beaten, and we submit.

THE CHAIR: I recognize Mr. John Kelly, from New York. The gentleman from New York will proceed.

ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN KELLY, OF NEW YORK.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am pleased to see that such a liberal view is taken of the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York. The principles involved in this amendment go to the very foundation of the Democratic party—the right to disfranchise a minority of the Delegates in a Democratic Convention.

MR. NOONAN, of California: I move that Mr. Kelly be asked to speak from the platform.

THE CHAIR: Unless by vote of the Convention every Delegate must speak from his seat. The Chair will not object to putting such a motion as to the gentleman from New York, or any other gentleman.

MR. NOONAN: I withdraw the motion.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman will proceed.

MR. KELLY: There are sixty-two counties in the State of New York. There are but ten of them Democratic, and by the argument of the Senator from the State of New York, the great Democratic County of New York, which elects your Democratic President, if an opportunity is given to it, is to be disfranchised in a Democratic Convention. That is the principle which is here now presented to this Convention. When the question itself was before the State Convention, it is true, as has been stated here, no discussion took place, and it was with the greatest difficulty that we could persuade and prevail upon the majority of that Convention to admit us upon equal

terms with those who are opposed to us in the County of New York. Having accomplished that, and having also pointed out to them the danger of what they were doing, we had no other resource, no other opportunity, but to appeal to the Democratic Convention to give to the Democratic Delegates from the great Empire State of New York an opportunity to vote for their choice in this Convention.

Gentlemen say that there are no precedents for the position assumed by Mr. Grady. My recollection goes back to the Convention of 1844. The very same question came up in that Convention. By the wish, the will, and the good feeling and liberality which prevailed among the Delegates, it was conceded that no man's voice, representing a constituency in a Democratic Convention, could be utterly ignored. I will not trouble the Convention with a history of Democratic Conventions from that day to this ; but I hope that this Convention will take into consideration this important point which I desire to present to them. Suppose that you disfranchise these Democratic counties to which I have made reference. What will be the feelings of the constituencies that have sent their Delegates here to represent them in view of the fact that a majority of the Delegates, representing the State of New York, are in the minority in their own counties? Will our voices, then, representing majority constituencies, be stifled in a Democratic Convention? I appeal to the good sense, to the liberality, to the sound judgment, to the wisdom of the Delegates here assembled to give to Democratic constituencies the same right which they expect for themselves.

And having, Mr. Chairman, said so much, and not desiring to occupy the Convention any further upon the subject, I have stated it to you as clearly as I understand it, and I hope, as I said before, that the question will be met with that liberality which it deserves from a Democratic Convention.

THE CHAIR: Mr. Fellows, of New York, has the floor.

ADDRESS OF COL. JOHN R. FELLOWS, OF NEW YORK.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: My associates of the majority upon this Delegation have requested me to address to the Convention the last words which the State of New York will have to say, so far as its majority is concerned, upon the very grave and important question now awaiting your decision. Sir, there has been an extraordinary misapprehension of the issue which is involved here, as indicated by the very eloquent

addresses of the gentlemen from California and of other States. The question is not that of stifling the voice or repressing the sentiment of any Delegate from New York, or any Delegate upon this floor. The question is as to whether the State of New York has the right to say how the will of her majority shall be indicated upon the floor of this Convention. New York has something of pride in her greatness. Vast in her population, vast in her resources, commanding in the attitude she occupies in the sisterhood of States, she desires to come into a Democratic Convention as she has desired to do for more than forty years, giving all of dignity, and weight, and character to her voice and her sentiment that she possibly can ; and she has always stated, as she states to-day, that she will not permit—if Delegates obey her instructions—she will not permit seventy-two separate units to speak seventy-two conflicting sentiments and desires with regard to any question upon the floor of a Convention. She recognizes the Democratic method of ascertaining what her will is. How shall New York be known to the Nation : through her majority or through her minority ? She does not wish that any gentleman of this minority shall fail to tell the Convention for what reasons and by virtue of what impulses he differs with that majority. But New York says only this : Democrats of the country, are you going to deny her the assertion of that right ? She says that when the will of her majority is ascertained by Democratic methods she has a right to prescribe the form in which that will shall be expressed to the Nation as assembled in this Convention. That is all that there is in this question.

My friend from California has assumed that we come here the elect of Congressional districts. No theory could be wider of the fact. Any argument based upon such a premiss must necessarily have no relevancy to the real merits of the question involved. We are not here the products of Congressional districts. The very eminent gentleman from New York—recognized as a leader there, heading a powerful Democratic organization, who last addressed this Convention—and myself, represent upon the floor of this Convention, so far as geographical divisions are concerned, the same Congressional district. Will he tell me in what council of Democrats from that district he and I received the votes of Democrats ? What Convention it was that gave him one set of instructions and me another ?

MR. KELLY : May I interrupt you to answer the question ?

MR. FELLOWS : With great pleasure, sir.

MR. KELLY : My friend from New York, Mr. Fellows, and I are

on the best of terms in the world. You gentlemen will recollect that we shook hands over the bloody chasm in 1880. Therefore, in asking him to permit me to answer his question, I knew he would do it, because before we adjourn in this Convention you expect that he and I again will shake hands over the bloody chasm. I will ask the gentleman this question—and before asking the question, if he permits me, I will make an explanation to you gentlemen. Will the gentleman permit me?

MR. FELLOWS : Certainly.

MR. KELLY : There is a division of the Democratic party in the County of New York. There are three County organizations, all claiming to be the regular organization of the Democratic party. In the good feeling which prevailed at Saratoga, and in consideration of the great question which he and I had to meet at the coming Presidential election, it was concluded that because he and I had shaken hands over the bloody chasm we should come here again to do the same thing, and, consequently, I was put on the tail of the ticket.

MR. FELLOWS : My friend, Mr. Kelly, has well expressed the cordiality of the relations of a personal character which exist between us, and I most heartily and cordially reciprocate them here. We may differ as to methods, and may differ as to organization forms, but I say for him, as I say for myself, that we have but one common end to attain and that is shared by every Democratic Delegate upon this floor. But his explanation hardly meets my inquiry. That was directed to the question as to how he and I obtained the credentials which permit us to be here at all from the same or different Congressional districts.

MR. KELLY : Gentlemen, I intended to answer the question, although I did not suppose that it was necessary. Now, as he has referred to the manner in which the Delegates were chosen, I will say that he represents one Democratic party in the City and County of New York, and I represent another.

MR. FELLOWS : Different Democratic organizations of the same party.

MR. KELLY : Very well, and because we represent different organizations, and as any other of the Delegates could choose those two, it was consented that he and I should represent the district. But the great point for the Convention to consider is this : This gentleman proposes now to ignore me, and not to allow me to vote in the Con-



vention at all ; therefore he is voting for me, and it is against that that I protest to this Convention.

MR. FELLOWS : My friend is quite mistaken. It is quite possible that during the progress of this Convention a dozen questions may arise in the New York Delegation where he will be one of a very large majority, and I shall be in the minority ; then, having his will expressed in the debate in the Delegation, it finds its voice—and that is the point of this contention—through and by the forms prescribed by the State whose authority we bear. That is all there is to this question, gentlemen of the Convention. We are not elected by Congressional districts. The Convention at Saratoga appointed a committee to go out and report the names of seventy-two nominees to be elected as Delegates to this National Convention, and when those names were presented the Convention of the State of New York elected us Delegates. Without that action we would have had no authority. No gentlemen of the minority here will contend for one moment that if the Convention had rejected those names, voted them down, that any of the names thus presented would have had any business in this Convention. It was only the action of the Convention of the State of New York that gave to its Delegates any authority here.

Now that brings me to the question which my eloquent friend from California seems to have overlooked. When New York has expressed her will by a majority, how shall that will be indicated to the country at large ? The State Convention said, as it has said since the time when every man in this Convention whose hairs are whitened by the flight of time, as they sit before me, was ruddy with the hues of youth, that its State should vote as a unit when the will of the majority had been ascertained by fair Democratic methods.

Now, a word or two further. What do we propose to do here ? I reveal no secret of our deliberations in delegation rooms—because presently the result of those deliberations is to be indicated by our action—when I say that after long conferences it was agreed—such was the sentiment of all our Delegation—that, its will being ascertained by the majority, the Chairman of our Delegation should arise in his place and say upon the pending question that the State of New York, obeying the instructions laid upon her Delegates, obedient to the will of the majority of the Delegation, casts seventy-two votes so and so, and that result was arrived at by the following vote, stating that vote to the Convention. So, you see, Mr. Chairman, that all we desire to do is what our State instructed us to do—express its senti-

ment in a certain prescribed form. Do not take that right from us. It is a dear right to the State of New York. She claims the power inherent in herself—not granted her by the will of her sister States, but reposing in her own strong arms, evolved from her own sense of right, the product of her own judgment—she claims the right to prescribe the methods and forms by which her ambassadors shall execute her will. Do not undertake to strip her of her sovereign right, for I tell you that New York will feel degraded and dishonored by the action of this Convention if not over questions which relate to the outcome of your entire deliberation, but over questions which refer only to forms and methods of one Delegation, you shall undertake to write her laws instead of permitting her to do it for herself. And apropos of this question, and of this discussion, it seems to me that the Delegation must have learned something of the possible motive which animates the contention now, through the expression which dropped from the lips of the gentleman from New York, Mr. Cockran, when he said that the reason they did not oppose the adoption of the unit rule at Saratoga was because they supposed then that they had a majority of the Delegation.

MR. COCKRAN, of New York: I would like to correct the gentleman.

The CHAIR: Does the gentleman from New York yield?

MR. FELLOWS: Certainly.

MR. COCKRAN: I would like to ask the gentleman if he understood me to say that that controlled their action, or whether I did not say that we did not feel called upon to oppose it because nobody knew how the Delegation stood?

MR. FELLOWS: Not at all.

MR. COCKRAN: And that it was suppressed by the engineers who now give it expression for the first time?

MR. FELLOWS: Not at all, gentlemen. I did not understand Mr. Cockran to say anything of the sort.

MR. COCKRAN: I desire to be correct.

MR. FELLOWS: In that respect I stated the fact that he said that the reason they did not oppose the unit rule at Saratoga was because at that time they imagined that the Delegation would stand differently from what they find it to stand to-day. I certainly did not understand him to say that it was that which influenced their action. May the Lord of the Democratic hosts forbid that any such base

or unworthy considerations should be attributed to them. Sirs, all is unity ; all is harmony ; all is perfect accord. Mr. Kelly and myself, since we presented ourselves in the attitude of he David and I Jonathan before the Democratic hosts of this country and shook hands, are in tender sympathy with each other. I feel it a distinction to shake hands with him every hour in the day. But I confess that I have a brighter hope set before me of better methods and purer forms when I find through the lips of these gentlemen such eloquent denunciation of machine methods. Mr. Kelly, and Mr. Grady, and myself, and beyond us the country, understand too well that everything we do in New York is the spontaneous outcropping of the popular will, that the hand of an arbitrary power never controls our methods or dictates our action, to make their protestation necessary now.

I come to the question again. In as solemn form of expression as I can present it to you, let me say for the majority of this Delegation that every single vote the minority may cast will be proclaimed upon this floor, and every single expression of individual sentiment they may desire to utter will be heard upon this floor, but New York has told us that we shall meet in delegated form and take a vote upon every question submitted to us for action, and that when the majority is fairly ascertained, that majority represents her Democratic will and sentiment, and she wants it proclaimed to the Nation in her own way. In no defiant spirit, I repeat, in a spirit of the utmost candor and conciliation, I say to you, gentlemen of our sister States, with regard to this reserved power of control over the forms and methods of our own Delegation, will you—dare you—strip her of it ?

THE CHAIR : The gentleman from Wisconsin has the floor ; General Bragg.

ADDRESS OF GEN. E. S. BRAGG, OF WISCONSIN.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION : This question is but a simple one, sharply put, and addresses itself to the judgment and to the good sense of the Convention. . It is not a question whether one candidate shall receive the vote or whether another candidate may receive the vote. The question plainly put is : Shall an attorney, with delegated power known to us, be permitted to violate and exceed that power, and we sitting here to judge upon that question,

recognize that violation and bind his principal by it? We do not come here as representatives of Congressional districts, except in such case as a State may direct and permit the districts to be represented as Congressional organizations. The gentleman from California, I trust, will scarcely read the platform that we may adopt so carelessly as he seems to have read the call for this Convention. He wants the Convention to understand his construction of the call to be that we are here under the call of the National Democratic Committee, representing the Congressional districts—ergo, no State had a right by its voice to suppress the voice of the Congressional district, and therefore he argues that the amendment ought to be adopted. I hold in my hand the call for this Convention.

“Each State—not district—is entitled to representation herein equal to double the number of its Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States.”

The Democratic National Committee—the Democratic party—age after age, in every Convention that has been held, has made its call from the State, leaving the State to determine the method of its representation. We believe that to be one of the powers that belong to the States, that the State has a right to speak for itself. We recognize that we are here assembled under a call that recognizes it. The State of New York, following its precedent, called a State Convention, not a Congressional District Convention. Having called that Convention, it appointed its Delegates as a State, making a subdivision of the Delegates under a rule established by that Convention; and that subdivision was a subdivision awarding Delegates hither and thither, for different organizations to name as well as the Congressional organizations. Having appointed that Delegation from the State, that State, for the purpose of preserving the integrity of its vote, for the purpose of preventing any treachery—if so be I may use that term—on the part of any one seeking to represent it, said: “Sir, when I give you a power of attorney to act for the State of New York I write upon your credentials, ‘This is upon the condition that you conform to the views of the majority of the State of New York,’” and we are asked to step in and control New York and say that she shall not have that right.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Louisiana, Mr. Burke, has the floor.

## ADDRESS OF HON. E. A. BURKE, OF LOUISIANA.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN : In common with my brother Delegates from the Far South, we have listened patiently to the statements made upon the floor of this Convention in respect to the claims of the two "factions," if I may so term them without disrespect, from the State of New York. We have no desire now to thrust ourselves into the controversies pending in that State; but it becomes a duty, when we are asked as representatives in this Convention to alter the rules and change the time-honored precedent of the Democratic party, to express our voice as to the manner and effect of such a proceeding.

The gentleman who just addressed the Convention made the point to which I desire to call specially the attention of the Delegates. The assertion has been made that the Delegates in this Convention are the Delegates from Congressional districts, and are sent here to represent Congressional districts. But such is not the case if we heed the call under which we are assembled. That call, under which this Convention meets, reads:

"The National Democratic Committee having met in the City of Washington the 22d day of February, 1884, has appointed Tuesday, the 8th day of July next at noon, as the time, and chosen the City of Chicago as the place for holding the National Democratic Convention. Each State is entitled to representation therein equal to double the number of Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States."

Not from the Congressional districts, but equal to; and the State is entitled to the representation. We understand that rule to be that the State of Louisiana decides the manner in which she will certify her Delegates. We adopt the method of permitting the different Delegates of the Congressional districts to recommend to our Convention suitable names. But before they come here their action is confirmed and endorsed by the State Convention; and they come under the seal and signature of the officers of that Convention. And unless we held these credentials we could not expect to have seats upon this floor.

In our State—and I assume that that is the principle involved here—if any Congressional district had presented the name of a man that the State of Louisiana—that the Democracy of Louisiana—would have been unwilling to seat in the National Council of the party they would have rejected the man.



I beg to call attention to one more point. I have heard it stated that it would be an outrage to deprive a Delegate upon this floor of his voice. I can conceive of a greater outrage than that. I can conceive of an outrage that would appall the sentiments of the people of this country when a State is stifled in the expression of her voice.

I regret, with other Delegates, that this discussion has been precipitated. It was a question that was entitled to calm and thoughtful consideration under the ordinary forms and rules and by the Committee on Rules and Permanent Organization, but since it is here we have listened with patience to the statements of the gentlemen, although with regret, and now, Mr. Chairman, I trust that we take a direct vote upon the question, and I therefore move the previous question.

THE CHAIR [To Mr. Burke]: Have you yielded the floor?

MR. BURKE: I made a motion.

THE CHAIR: What was your motion?

MR. BURKE: I moved the previous question. I move to lay the amendment upon the table and call for a vote by States.

THE CHAIR: There are two amendments. I will state the question before the house. A resolution has been offered by the gentleman from Vermont. An amendment has been offered to that resolution by the gentleman from New York. There is an amendment by the gentleman from Indiana to that amendment. The question regularly before the house is upon the amendment to the amendment. Now, do I understand the gentleman from Louisiana to move that the amendment to the amendment be laid upon the table?

MR. BURKE: If it is in order, I will move to lay both the amendments on the table.

THE CHAIR: The question is not subject to debate.

MR. GRADY, of New York: I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. I ask the Chairman, if the motion of the gentleman from Louisiana prevails, if it will not leave the temporary organization of this Convention without any rules?

THE CHAIR: That is a question for the Convention to decide. The motion is to adopt certain rules. The motion to lay on the table has reference only to the amendments. We have no rules now because the object of the motion is to adopt rules.

MR. MENZIES, of Indiana: I ask for a division of the question.

THE CHAIR: A motion is made to lay upon the table both amendments. A motion is made for a division of the question.

The reading the resolution and amendments were called for.

THE CHAIR: Read the original resolution and then the amendments in their order.

THE READING CLERK: Resolution offered by the gentleman from Vermont, Mr. Smalley:

*"Resolved,* That the rules of the last Democratic Convention govern this body until otherwise ordered, subject to the following modification: That in voting for candidates for President and Vice-President no State shall be allowed to change its vote until the roll of the States has been called and every State has cast its vote."

An amendment offered by the gentleman from New York, Mr. Grady:

"When the vote of a State as announced by the Chairman of the Delegation from such State is challenged by any member of the Delegation, then the Secretary shall call the names of the individual Delegates from the State, and their individual preferences as expressed shall be recorded as the vote of that State."

Amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. Menzies; to amend the amendment:

"No State shall change its vote until the result of a ballot has been announced."

THE CHAIR: Gentlemen of the Convention, a motion has been made to lay upon the table these amendments. I will state the proposition. A motion has been made by the gentleman from Louisiana to lay both amendments upon the table. A motion is made for a division of the question, which is always in order. The question before the house, therefore, now is, Shall the amendment to the amendment be laid upon the table?

HON. WM. A. WALLACE, of Pennsylvania: Mr. Chairman, I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. If the vote of the Convention be to lay these amendments upon the table, does not the original resolution, under general parliamentary law, also go to the table?

THE CHAIR: I sustain the point of order of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, if he makes the point of order. I answer the question

that, under the parliamentary usage, the motion to lay amendments upon the table takes the whole question, and it is all laid upon the table if carried.

MR. BURKE: I withdraw my motion, and in its place I move the previous question.

THE CHAIR: Is the motion seconded?

SEVERAL DELEGATES: I second the motion.

THE CHAIR: The motion to lay upon the table has been withdrawn. The motion for the previous question has received a second.

MR. MENZIES: With the consent of my second, I withdraw the amendment to the amendment with the privilege of re-offering it at the proper time.

THE CHAIR: With the consent of the Convention, whose property it is, it will be withdrawn.

MR. FRANCIS, of Missouri: I move the previous question on the amendment.

MR. GRADY: I rise to a point of order; that, as I moved the amendment, I have a right to close the debate under the general rule as recognized in Congress.

MR. WALLACE, of Pennsylvania: Mr. Chairman, I rise to inquire whether, under general parliamentary law, the gag law called the previous question exists?

THE CHAIR: The motion for the previous question must be recognized in this assembly. It is with the Convention to determine whether it shall be passed or not; and under the operation of that law the Chair cannot hear any further debate. The vote must determine it. (To Mr. Burke) Unless you withdraw the motion.

MR. BURKE: I was simply going to say that if any Delegate on this floor desires to continue the discussion, I will withdraw the motion for that purpose.

THE CHAIR: You cannot do it without consent. The motion is for the previous question, Shall the main question be now put?

Upon the question being put, the motion was carried.

THE CHAIR: The main question is ordered. The question now is upon the amendment to the original resolution, the amendment to the amendment having been withdrawn.

A demand for a call of the roll of States was made.

THE CHAIR : Let the roll be called by States. The question is upon the adoption of the amendment to the original resolution. Call the States. The gentleman from Ohio, Senator Thurman, has the floor.

MR. THURMAN : Mr. Chairman—Has the vote been taken on the motion for the previous question ?

THE CHAIR : I will answer the inquiry of the gentleman by stating that the vote upon ordering the main question has been put and carried. The question now is upon the adoption of the amendment to the original resolution.

MR. THURMAN : I didn't so understand it. There was so much confusion we could not understand it. But if the Chair rules that the question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Grady] to the original resolution then I have no objection. Let us vote on it.

THE CHAIR : That is the state of the question. Proceed with the call of the roll and as the roll is called the Chairman of each Delegation will announce their vote.

MR. EAGLE, of Arkansas : Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIR : No debate is in order. I can't entertain any motion until we are through with the roll-call.

MR. EAGLE : It is not a motion, but a point of order.

THE CHAIR : State the point of order.

MR. EAGLE : My point is that when the previous question has been ordered upon the original motion it cuts off all amendments, and the question now is upon the original motion.

THE CHAIR : I overrule the point of order. The amendment to the main question first, and then whether or not the original resolution be put before the house.

MR. HOUSE, of Tennessee : I call for the reading of the amendment upon which we are about to vote.

A DELEGATE : What are we to vote on ?

THE CHAIR : On the amendment to the original motion ; it is for or against the amendment. The Convention will come to order and hear the amendment read upon which you will have to vote.

THE READING CLERK :

"When the vote of a State as announced by the Chairman of the

Delegation for said State is challenged by any member of the Delegation then the Secretary shall call the name of individual Delegates for the State, and their individual preferences, as expressed, shall be recorded as the vote of said State."

THE CHAIR : The question now recurs upon the adoption of the amendment which you have heard read. Call the roll, and when the name of a State is called, the Chairman of each Delegation will announce distinctly the vote of the State.

The call was then proceeded with.

After Colorado had voted, the Chair said :

"I have been requested by some Delegates to state the effect of the vote. I suppose, of course, it is well understood that a vote aye adopts the amendment as a part of the resolution which is yet to be voted on ; and a vote no destroys it. I make this statement in response to requests. Proceed with the roll."

When New York was called for its vote on the amendment, Mr. Manning, the Chairman of the State Delegation, said :

"I shall have to ask the indulgence of the Convention until our tellers report."

The roll-call having been completed, the State of New York was again called, and its Chairman announced :

"New York votes seventy-two noes."

MR. COCKRAN, of New York: I challenge that vote.

MR. MANNING: I have to state, Mr. Chairman, that the vote in the Delegation is forty-eight noes and fifteen ayes.

MR. COCKRAN: Then I ask that it be so recorded.

THE CLERK: New York casts seventy-two votes no.

MR. COCKRAN: That is challenged, Mr. Chairman, and I move that the Secretary call the roll and poll the Delegates. I do not vote aye nor no either, until I hear my own voice.

THE CHAIR: Gentlemen of the Convention, the Chairman of the State of New York announces so many votes no.

MR. COCKRAN: How many?



THE CHAIR: Seventy-two.

MR. COCKRAN: I say the Chairman of the Delegation has announced in the hearing of all this Convention that there were but forty-eight noes, and I move that that be recorded as it stands.

THE CHAIR: The Chairman of the State of New York will please state the vote again.

MR. MANNING: New York votes under unanimous instructions at Saratoga, and under instructions of the State Delegation here in this city, by a vote of sixty-one to eleven—New York votes as a unit seventy-two noes.

MR. COCKRAN: Mr. Chairman, I am one of those Delegates, and I did not vote that way, and I protest against a lie being recorded to me.

MR. M. F. TARPEY, of California: Mr. Chairman, I think this is a very dangerous precedent for a Democratic Convention.

THE CHAIR: Gentlemen of the Convention, upon all questions of parliamentary law and usage you may invoke the Chair, but the very question that is now presented to the Chair is the subject-matter of the vote being taken. It is, therefore, not with the Chair to state how that vote is, except that under the call when the Chairman of each Delegation announces the vote it shall be recorded in accordance therewith, but a protest will always stand; a protest is in order and can be recorded.

MR. COCKRAN: Protest! But is that a mere idle sound, or does it give me any rights in this Convention?

THE CHAIR: That is a question for the Convention to determine.

MR. COCKRAN: If that protest takes no practical form such as the recording of my vote, what does it avail?

THE CHAIR: The Chair decides that the announcement made by the Chairman *prima facie* is the vote—*prima facie*. Whether it shall stand as a vote is a question for the Convention.

MR. COCKRAN: Then I ask for the vote of the Convention on that.

THE CHAIR: Certainly, the vote of the Convention will be taken upon it.

MR. COCKRAN: I ask to have my vote in this Convention recorded "No."

THE CHAIR: The gentleman voting no can have it recorded and

signed as a protest upon the minutes of this body. During the call of the roll and announcing of the vote no debate is in order.

MR. TARPEY: Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order—that this Convention, having failed to pass upon the credentials of any member here present, the Chair cannot entertain any such protest.

THE CHAIR: I overrule the point of order. The Secretary will announce the vote.

THE READING CLERK: The vote of the Convention cast is 795. The ayes have 332; the noes, 463.

The following is the vote by States :

	<i>Yeas.</i>	<i>Nays.</i>		<i>Yeas.</i>	<i>Nays.</i>
Alabama.....	15	5	Missouri.....	8	24
Arkansas.....	..	14	Nebraska.....	5	5
California.....	16	..	Nevada.....	6	..
Colorado.....	4	2	New Hampshire.....	..	8
Connecticut.....	2	10	New Jersey.....	14	4
Delaware.....	6	..	New York.....	..	72
Florida.....	2	6	North Carolina.....	10	12
Georgia.....	12	12	Ohio.....	25	21
Illinois.....	22	22	Oregon.....	..	6
Indiana.....	30	..	Pennsylvania.....	21	39
Iowa.....	6	20	Rhode Island.....	..	8
Kansas.....	3	15	South Carolina.....	3	14
Kentucky.....	20	6	Tennessee.....	17	7
Louisiana.....	..	16	Texas.....	12	10
Maine.....	2	10	Vermont.....	..	8
Maryland.....	..	16	Virginia.....	6	18
Massachusetts.....	21	7	West Virginia.....	9	3
Michigan.....	12	12	Wisconsin.....	5	17
Minnesota.....	..	14			
Mississippi.....	18	..	Total.....	332	463

THE CHAIR: Gentlemen of the Convention, the question now recurs upon the adoption of the original resolution, the amendment being declared lost. The Clerk will proceed to the call of the roll by States. Those in favor of the adoption of the resolution will say "Aye" as their names are called; those opposed will say "No." Proceed to call the roll.

MR. HENRY F. HARRINGTON, of Missouri: Mr. Chairman, I move that the call of States be dispensed with.

The motion was seconded and put to the Convention, and declared adopted.

THE CHAIR: The call of the roll is dispensed with. The question is now upon the resolution offered by the gentleman from Vermont.

A DELEGATE: Let the resolution be reported or read.

THE CHAIR: The reading of the resolution is called for. The Reading Clerk will read it.

THE READING CLERK: The following resolution is offered by the gentleman from Vermont, Mr. Smalley:

*"Resolved, That the rules of the last Democratic Convention govern this body until otherwise ordered, subject to the following modification: That in voting for candidates for President and Vice-President, no State shall be allowed to change its vote until the roll of the States has been called and every State has cast its vote."*

The question being put, this resolution was adopted.

MR. DELANEY, of Wisconsin: I desire to offer a resolution, which I now send up to be read by the Clerk, and move its adoption.

The resolution was read by the Clerk as follows:

*"Resolved, That a Committee of one Delegate from each State to be selected by the Delegation thereof, be appointed to act as a Committee on Permanent Organization, and that the roll of States be called, and the Chairman of each Delegation announce the name of each Delegate selected for such Committee."*

THE CHAIR: I will state to the gentleman that the first Committee, under all precedents, is the Committee on Credentials, to determine who are Delegates. Then follows the Committee upon Permanent Organization, and on Platform last.

MR. FRANCIS, of Missouri: I now offer a resolution which I will send to the Chair to be read, and move its adoption.

THE CHAIR: Does the gentleman offer it as an amendment or as a substitute?

MR. FRANCIS: As a substitute to that motion.

The substitute was read by the Reading Clerk as follows:

*"Resolved, That a Committee on Credentials and a Committee on Permanent Organization be now appointed, the Secretary calling the roll of States and the Chairman of Delegations announcing the members of those committees from their respective States."*

MR. DELANEY, of Wisconsin : With the consent of the Chairman of the Convention and of the Convention itself I will temporarily withdraw my resolution.

THE CHAIR : The question recurs upon the resolution of Mr. Francis, of Missouri.

The resolution was adopted.

MR. DELANEY : Will the Chair allow me to make a suggestion ?

THE CHAIR : The Chair will entertain it if it is in order.

MR. DELANEY : It will facilitate the business of the Convention and save one roll-call to name all those committees.

MR. S. M. WEED, of New York : I ask that the roll-call be suspended as the gentleman desires to add the Committee on Resolutions.

THE CHAIR : The roll-call will be suspended.

MR. HAY, of Pennsylvania : Mr. Chairman, why not name the Committee on Resolutions at the same time that we are naming the others ? I move that this amendment be added.

The amendment offered by Mr. Hay was read from the desk as follows :

*"Resolved, That a committee of one Delegate from each State to be selected by the Delegation thereof, be appointed to report resolutions, and that all resolutions in relation to the platform of the Democratic party be referred to said Committee without debate."*

THE CHAIR : That is offered as an amendment.

The amendment was adopted.

THE CHAIR : The resolution now is for the appointment of three committees. The Chairman of each Delegation will send up a list in writing to the Secretary's desk, and also announce the name, first, of the Committee on Credentials, second, of the Committee on Permanent Organization, and lastly, of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions.

MR. LA RUE, of California ; To expedite business, I also move that at the same time the roll is called the Delegation from each State name one member from that State as Vice-President.

THE CHAIR : I will state that the Committee on Permanent Organization will do that, and the Convention ratifies their report.

The roll was then called, and the Chairmen of the several Delegations announced the three Committees as follows:

#### COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

ALABAMA—Joseph F. Johnston.	MISSISSIPPI—R. O. Reynolds.
ARKANSAS—J. C. Tappan.	MISSOURI—R. T. Railey.
CALIFORNIA—Warren B. English.	NEBRASKA—Tobias Castor.
COLORADO—J. B. Grant.	NEVADA—E. P. Hardesty.
CONNECTICUT—John C. Byxbee.	NEW HAMPSHIRE—Frank A. McKean.
DELAWARE—James L. Walcott.	NEW JERSEY—James Smith, Jr.
FLORIDA—E. A. Todd.	NEW YORK—Archibald M. Bliss.
GEORGIA—W. T. McArthur.	NORTH CAROLINA—M. H. Pinnix.
ILLINOIS—W. A. J. Sparks.	OHIO—Durbin Ward.
INDIANA—Jason B. Brown.	OREGON—F. P. Hogan.
IOWA—N. B. Hyatt.	PENNSYLVANIA—Robert P. Allen.
KANSAS—W. C. Jones.	RHODE ISLAND—John Water.
KENTUCKY—Hunter Wood.	SOUTH CAROLINA—D. S. Henderson.
LOUISIANA—W. H. Wise.	TENNESSEE—S. A. Champion.
MAINE—Payson Tucker.	TEXAS—W. H. Burgess.
MARYLAND—James Dirickson.	VERMONT—James D. Hanrahan.
MASSACHUSETTS—John W. Cummings.	VIRGINIA—Benjamin H. Nash.
MICHIGAN—Orlando W. Powers.	WEST VIRGINIA—Geo. W. Thompson.
MINNESOTA—Robert A. Smith.	WISCONSIN—A. K. Delany.

#### COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

ALABAMA—H. C. Tompkins.	MISSISSIPPI—James T. Fant.
ARKANSAS—C. M. Taylor.	MISSOURI—E. M. Harber.
CALIFORNIA—Maurice Schmitt.	NEBRASKA—G. P. Marvin.
COLORADO—J. R. Letcher.	NEVADA—J. B. Moore.
CONNECTICUT—David M. Read.	NEW HAMPSHIRE—Hosea W. Parker.
DELAWARE—John W. Causey.	NEW JERSEY—C. F. Randolph.
FLORIDA—C. H. Smith.	NEW YORK—Solomon Scheu.
GEORGIA—W. E. Simmons.	NORTH CAROLINA—Geo. H. Brown, Jr.
ILLINOIS—A. J. O'Connor.	OHIO—R. S. Shields.
INDIANA—Cyrus F. McNutt.	OREGON—T. L. Porter.
IOWA—D. M. Harris.	PENNSYLVANIA—Robert S. Patterson.
KANSAS—W. C. Perry.	RHODE ISLAND—Thomas McGuire, Jr.
KENTUCKY—James D. White.	SOUTH CAROLINA—Giles J. Patterson.
LOUISIANA—P. Mealey.	TENNESSEE—John Slack.
MAINE—James F. Rawson.	TEXAS—Silas Hare.
MARYLAND—William Walsh.	VERMONT—Amos Aldrich.
MASSACHUSETTS—John W. Corcoran.	VIRGINIA—Samuel J. Graham.
MICHIGAN—C. P. Black.	WEST VIRGINIA—Wesley Mollohan.
MINNESOTA—George N. Baxter.	WISCONSIN—J. M. Morrow.



## COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

ALABAMA—L. P. Walker.  
 ARKANSAS—Benjamin T. Du Val.  
 CALIFORNIA—T. J. Clunie.  
 COLORADO—M. D. Crow.  
 CONNECTICUT—A. E. Burr.  
 DELAWARE—George H. Bates.  
 FLORIDA—P. P. Bishop.  
 GEORGIA—E. P. Howell.  
 ILLINOIS—William R. Morrison.  
 INDIANA—G. V. Menzies.  
 IOWA—E. H. Thayer.  
 KANSAS—Thomas P. Fenlon.  
 KENTUCKY—Henry Watterson.  
 LOUISIANA—E. A. Burke.  
 MAINE—David R. Hastings.  
 MARYLAND—Charles J. M. Gwinn.  
 MASSACHUSETTS—B. F. Butler.  
 MICHIGAN—Timothy E. Tarsney.  
 MINNESOTA—J. C. Wise.

MISSISSIPPI—W. A. Percy.  
 MISSOURI—W. H. Phelps.  
 NEBRASKA—J. Sterling Morton.  
 NEVADA—D. E. McCarthy.  
 NEW HAMPSHIRE—Henry Bingham.  
 NEW JERSEY—John R. McPherson.  
 NEW YORK—Abram S. Hewitt.  
 NORTH CAROLINA—J. S. Carr.  
 OHIO—George L. Converse.  
 OREGON—A. E. Wait.  
 PENNSYLVANIA—Malcolm Hay.  
 RHODE ISLAND—Edward Smith.  
 SOUTH CAROLINA—Leroy F. Youmans.  
 TENNESSEE—Albert T. McNeal.  
 TEXAS—D. C. Giddings.  
 VERMONT—James A. Brown.  
 VIRGINIA—P. W. McKinney.  
 WEST VIRGINIA—Henry G. Davis.  
 WISCONSIN—J. G. Jenkins.

MR. WALLER YOUNG, of Missouri : I would suggest that the Chair name the time and place for these various committees to meet.

THE CHAIR : The Chair has no control over that. I shall be very glad to make any announcement, but the committees will control their own action.

MR. FRANCIS, of Missouri : I move, Mr. Chairman, that the Convention do now adjourn until 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

THE CHAIR : We must have the announcement of the committees first.

MR. FRANCIS : I move that when the Convention adjourns it adjourn until 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

This motion was adopted.

THE CHAIR : The Chair desires to make an announcement to the Committees on Credentials, Permanent Organization and Platform. Immediately upon the adjournment of this Convention these three committees will meet, for the purpose of informally organizing and determining where their headquarters will be, upon this platform in the rear of the speaker's chair. A correction of the vote upon the amendment of the gentleman from New York to the resolution of the gentleman from Vermont will now be stated.

The Secretary stated the vote as follows : Total vote cast, 795 ; for the resolution of the gentleman from New York (Mr. Grady), 332 ; against the resolution, 463 ; not voting, 5.

THE CHAIR : Is there anything before the house ?

SENATOR VOORHEES, of Indiana : I ask the reading of a resolution and its reference to the Committee on Credentials.

The Secretary read the resolution, which is as follows :

*“Resolved, That the Territories of the United States and the District of Columbia, having been admitted to participate in the deliberations of the National Democratic Convention, be accorded full membership in this body and entitled to all the privileges of Delegates.”*

THE CHAIR : It goes to the Committee on Resolutions under the rules.

MR. WALLER YOUNG, of Missouri : I move we do now adjourn.

The motion was put and carried, and at 3.55 P. M. the Convention adjourned to 11 o'clock A. M., July 9, 1884.

## SECOND DAY.

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CHICAGO, July 9, 1884.

Pursuant to adjournment, the Convention met at 11 o'clock A. M., Wednesday, July 9, 1884.

The Convention was called to order by the Chairman, Mr. Hubbard, at 11.20 o'clock A. M., as follows :

THE CHAIR: The Convention will come to order. The Convention will be opened with prayer by the Rt.-Rev. Bishop McLaren, Bishop of the Diocese of Chicago. The Convention will please rise.

### PRAYER.

Let us pray. Our Father, who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever and ever. Amen.

O God, who art the blessed and the only Potentate, the King of Kings, and the Lord of Lords, the Almighty Ruler of nations, we adore and magnify Thy glorious name for all the great things which Thou hast done for us as a people. We render Thee thanks for the goodly heritage which Thou hast given us, for the civil and religious privileges which we enjoy, and for the multiplied manifestations of Thy favor, O God, to the American people. Grant we may show forth our thankfulness for these, Thy mercies, by living in remembrance of Thy Almighty power and dominion, in humble reliance upon Thy goodness and mercy, and in holy obedience to Thy righteous law. And preserve to our country, O God, the blessings of peace and prosperity; and especially we implore Thy blessing upon

all those who are or shall be in Legislative, Judicial and Executive authority, that they may have grace, wisdom and understanding so to discharge their duties as most effectually to promote Thy glory, the interests of religion and virtue, and the peace, good order and welfare of this Nation. Send Thy light and Thy truth forth over all the people, O Thou, that holdest the Nations in the hollow of thy hand, and bestow upon all the multitude of our citizens intelligence joined to morality; sagacity united with energy; present activity of secular development tempered by sober contemplation of that future in which our children and our children's children shall enjoy the result of our regulated liberty, or suffer the consequences of our selfish disregard of the eternal laws of God. Save us from the guilt of abusing the blessings of prosperity to luxury and licentiousness, to irreligion and vice, lest we provoke Thee in just judgment to visit our offenses with the rod, and our sins with scourges. And upon the Convention here assembled we humbly beseech Thy blessing; that the influence of patriotism may be supreme; that the on-looking eye of the God of our fathers may penetrate every heart, and that all things may be done for the welfare of the land and the glory of Thy name; and all these things we fervently ask in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with us all forevermore. Amen.

MR. JAMES JENKINS, of Wisconsin: Mr. Chairman—

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Wisconsin. The Convention will come to order. Mr. Jenkins has the floor. Before I recognize the gentleman, I will state that under the regular order of proceeding, the minutes of yesterday will be read, unless some motion is made to dispense with their reading.

MR. FRAME, of Missouri: I move that the reading of the minutes be dispensed with.

This motion was adopted, and the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

MR. JENKINS: Mr. Chairman, I have a communication from the Committee on Resolutions which I desire to have read.

THE CHAIR: The communication will be read by the Secretary, and the Convention will give it attention.

The Reading Clerk read the communication as follows:

*To the Chairman of the National Democratic Convention:*

The Committee on Resolutions respectfully report to the Convention that they are diligently engaged in attention to the duties of their appointment, but do not expect to be able to report such resolutions as they may agree upon to the Convention before to-morrow morning. The Committee therefore ask leave to sit during such session of the Convention as may be held to-day.

Respectfully submitted,

MALCOLM HAY,

*Acting Chairman.*

Committee Room, Iroquois Club, July 9, 1884.

THE CHAIR: Leave will be granted unless objection is made by the Convention.

MR. JOHN W. CUMMINGS, of Massachusetts: I have a resolution and memorials which I desire to present.

THE CHAIR: The resolution and memorials will be sent up and read by the Clerk.

The Reading Clerk read the resolution as follows:

*“Resolved, That the Committee on Resolutions heretofore appointed be and are hereby directed to give a hearing to the Committee of the Irish National League of America, who are appointed to deliver an address on the subject of the ‘Ownership of Realty in the United States by Aliens.’”*

THE CHAIR: All resolutions of this character, under the rules, go to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

THE READING CLERK: Also a memorial of the Sumner National Independents.

THE CHAIR: That will be so referred.

THE READING CLERK: Also a memorial from the New York State Woman Suffrage Association.



## NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE, *President*,  
New York City.

MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE, *Vice-President at Large*,  
Fayetteville.

CLARA NEYMAN, *Chairman Executive Committee*, HELEN M. LODER, *Secretary*,  
New York City. Poughkeepsie.

KATE STONEMAN, *Treasurer*,  
Albany.

NEW YORK, July 3d, 1884,     }  
163 East 49th Street.     }

*To the Democratic Convention :*

In behalf of the women of New York we earnestly pray you to adopt the enclosed resolution.

LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE, *President*.

CLARA NEYMAN. *Ch. Ex. Com.*

*Whereas*, The Democratic party took its rise in the demand for universal suffrage, and holds as its foundation principle the equal rights of all citizens to the ballot; therefore,

*Resolved*, That we view with favor the efforts of the women citizens of the Nation to secure protection in their right to vote.

THE CHAIR: The same order.

THE READING CLERK: Also a memorial of the World's Arbitration League.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Democratic Party*

In Convention assembled at Chicago, Ill., for the purpose of selecting a suitable person to fill the office in chief of Executive department; also to formulate and recommend a system of policy which, in the judgment of your honorable body, would promote the peace, happiness and prosperity of our common country.

Your memorialist would respectfully call your attention to an enterprise which has for its object the ultimate and final extinction of war. The friends of this enterprise are an organized body, auxiliary to the various peace societies, both on this Continent and that of Europe. The headquarters of the organization is located at Washington, D. C., with its corps of officers, and is styled "The

World's Arbitration League," and in order to extend and facilitate the object of the organization have decided to appoint an agent in each State and Territory of these United States, whom they style Vice-President of the World's Arbitration League, whose duty it is to induce as many papers, both political and religious, to give such notoriety to the enterprise as can be obtained. It is further the duty of said agents to bring the subject-matter before such Conventions as the one in which you are engaged, and would suggest that your memorialist believes that your honorable body could not adopt any measure of policy that would redound more to the honor and intelligence of your body than a plank (so to speak) in your platform of principles and policy than one in commendation of this enterprise, which towers as far above the ordinary policies suggested by political aspirants as the heavens are above the earth. You would do well to remember, there is a tide in the current of human affairs, if taken at the flood, will lead to success; this applies to communities as well as individuals. Should you not deem it prudent to adopt in your platform of principles this plank, you certainly will not refuse to commend the same.

The opinion and judgment of your memorialist is that the political party who shall take the lead in promoting this cause of peace on earth and good will among men will achieve more honor and glory than all the military heroes from the days of Alexander the Great to the present date, 1884; hoping and believing you will cordially entertain the subject, as this is the kind of protection contemplated by the Constitution of our Fathers, so as to protect the weak against the oppression of the strong. It is likewise the duty of the Government to perfect society as far as possible. We must remember that protection is preferable to perfection. It is certainly the duty of the Government to protect her citizens from war, famine and pestilence, war by treaty arbitration, or adjudication. Hoping that wisdom and harmony may prevail in all your deliberations, and that you will do yourselves the honor and the cause of peace on earth and good will among men the benefit of your influence, which will gratify and encourage the friends of peace, and will be highly appreciated by your memorialist,

I am respectfully,

JOSEPH RAMSAY,

*Vice-President of the World's Arbitration League.*

SHELBYVILLE, Tennessee, July 4, 1884.

THE CHAIR: The same order.

MR. HENRY F. HARRINGTON, of Missouri: I have a resolution that I desire referred to the Committee on Platform.

The resolution was then sent up to the platform and read by the Reading Clerk as follows :

*Resolved*, That the employment of convict labor in competition with the toil of honorable men and women is a foul indignity and insult to them, and utterly foreign and contrary to the spirit and genius of our Republic.

THE CHAIR: It will go to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. Sweeney, of Texas, offered the following communication, which was read from the Clerk's desk :

*To the Representatives of the Democracy in Convention Assembled :*

We, the undersigned, representing the laboring population of the City of Galveston, Texas, request your honorable body to insert in your platform, when formulated, a declaration to the effect that the Eight Hour Law, as already passed, should in the future be rigidly enforced, and be no longer a dead letter.

We also ask that it be recommended and be announced as the sense of the Convention that there shall be appointed by the executive officer upon whom the duty may be devolved as Commissioner in charge of the Bureau of Labor Statistics a man who is able to carry out the endorsement and meet with the approval of the laboring classes of the country. Upon both of these subjects we invoke your favorable consideration.

PATRICK H. GOLDEN,  
*President of Galveston Trades Assembly and Labor Union,*  
Galveston, Texas.

The communication was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. Rubens, of Illinois, submitted the following resolution :

The Democratic party is unalterably opposed to all sorts of sumptuary laws, and determined to secure to the citizen the greatest amount of personal liberty compatible with the public welfare, believing that

every citizen should enjoy certain inalienable rights, in which he must be protected even against the will of the majority.

THE CHAIR: The resolution goes to the Committee under the rules.

MR. POWERS, of Michigan: I desire to offer the following resolution:

The resolution was sent to the Clerk's desk, and read as follows:

*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this Convention that its action yesterday upon the resolution offered by Senator Grady, of New York, was intended to apply only to Delegations from States which instructed their representatives in this body to vote as a unit.

THE CHAIR: Referred to the Committee on Platform under the rules.

SENATOR GRADY, of New York: Mr. Chairman, I suggest that the resolution is entirely proper, but that it was offered by Mr. Smalley, of Vermont, and was not offered by me, and the resolution should be amended in that respect.

THE CHAIR: The mover of the resolution hears the suggestion of the gentleman from New York. He can accept it or not as he sees proper. The resolution goes to the Committee on Platform.

MR. C. M. TAYLOR, of Arkansas: Mr. Chairman, I desire to submit the report of the Committee on Credentials.

THE CHAIR: The Chairman of the Committee on Credentials sends up his report.

THE READING CLERK: Mr. Taylor, of Arkansas, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, submits the following report:

CHICAGO, July 8.

*To the Honorable Chairman and*

*Members of the Democratic Convention:*

Your Committee on Credentials beg leave to submit the following report, and recommend the adoption of the following names as the roll-call of the Convention.

MR. FRAME, of Missouri: Mr. Chairman, I move that the reading of the names be dispensed with.

THE CHAIR: It will be so ordered unless a motion is made to the contrary.

The Clerk continued the reading of the report as follows :

In Massachusetts, a contest appearing in the Twelfth Congressional District, your Committee, after a full investigation of the facts, unanimously recommend that the parties—Joseph T. Callan, E. McA. Learned, A. L. Perry and George H. Bleloch—be admitted to this Convention, and each shall be entitled to one-half vote.

Your Committee unanimously recommend that the following named Delegates from the several Territories embraced in the call of National Democratic Committee and the District of Columbia be admitted to the floor of this Convention, participate in its deliberations, and be entitled to vote upon all questions.

Respectfully submitted.

C. M. TAYLOR,

*Chairman.*

MAURICE SCHMITT,

*Secretary.*

THE CHAIR: The question is on the adoption of the report of the Committee on Credentials.

MR. L. L. MCARTHUR, of Oregon: I move that the report be adopted.

MR. RANDOLPH, of New Jersey: I have a resolution amending the report of the Committee on Credentials.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from New Jersey offers an amendment to the report.

THE READING CLERK: An amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey:

*“Resolved, That the Territorial Delegates be not allowed to vote on the floor of this Convention.”*

MR. RANDOLPH: As a member of the Committee on Credentials I move this amendment in order to conform to the usage of Democratic Conventions previous to this one. This is a Republican precedent. The Delegates from these Territories have no votes at home and they should have no votes here; and I think this is a poor year to follow Republican precedent.

THE CHAIR: The question is on the adoption of the amendment offered by the gentlemen from New Jersey.

MR. L. L. MCARTHUR: As a representative of the Pacific Coast, as a friend of the people of the Territories, as a Democrat, I raise my



voice against the motion or the amendment of the gentleman from New Jersey. It seems to me that every Democrat in this broad land, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Lakes to the Everglades, has a living, vital interest in the proceedings of this Convention, and it would be unjust to the people who are struggling to build up the Territories into prosperous States to adopt this amendment and silence the voices of the Delegates that have been invited to attend, and came here with the understanding that they would participate fully and freely in the deliberations of this body.

The question was put.

THE CHAIR: The amendment is lost. The question is upon the adoption of the report.

The question was put and the report was adopted.

The following is the official list of the Delegates to the National Democratic Convention, as reported by the Committee on Credentials and taken from the original report\* of that Committee :

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

### ALABAMA.

#### AT LARGE.

E. W. Pettus.  
L. Pope Walker.

H. C. Tompkins.  
Joseph F. Johnston.

#### *District.*

1st.....D. P. Bestar.  
                  C. L. Scott.  
2d .....J. T. B. Foard.\*  
                  J. H. Clisby.  
3d.....J. M. White.  
                  John A. Kirkpatrick.  
4th.....J. E. Webb.†  
                  J. C. Compton.

#### *District.*

5th.....W. F. Wilkinson.  
                  S. J. Darby.  
6th.....T. C. Clarke.  
                  L. B. Musgrove.  
7th.....J. A. Walden.  
                  J. F. B. Jackson.  
8th.....Daniel Coleman.  
                  R. O. Pickett.

\* Will not be present. Joel D. Murphree will replace him.

† Will not be present. W. C. Funstall will replace him.

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\* Inaccuracies (if any) in spelling or otherwise must be attributed to the official report of the Committee on Credentials, as it has been carefully followed.

## ARKANSAS.

## AT LARGE.

U. M. Rose.  
S. W. Fordyce.

B. T. Du Val.  
C. M. Taylor.

*District.*

1st.....J. C. Tappan.  
                  T. E. Hair.  
2d.....J. P. Eagle.  
                  B. C. Black.  
3d.....L. A. Byrne.  
                  H. G. Bunn.

*District.*

4th.....W. L. Terry.  
                  H. B. Armsted.  
5th.....H. C. Tipton.  
                  James P. Fancher.

## CALIFORNIA.

## AT LARGE.

William Dunphy.  
C. F. Foster.

T. J. Clunie.  
Hugh M. Larue.

*District.*

1st....Dennis Spencer.  
                  H. C. Wilson.  
2d.....J. W. Breckenridge.  
                  Niles Searles.  
3d.....Warren B. English.  
                  M. F. Tarpey.

*District.*

4th.....J. A. Wright.  
                  Louis Holtz.  
5th.....Maurice Schmitt.  
                  Lawrence Archer.  
6th.....L. J. Rose.  
                  A. B. Butler.

## COLORADO.

## AT LARGE.

James B. Grant.  
John D. McGilvray.  
Matthew D. Crow.

Dennis Sullivan.  
M. S. Waller.  
J. R. Letcher.

## CONNECTICUT.

## AT LARGE.

Thomas M. Waller.  
Alfred E. Burr.

John C. Byxbee.  
William H. Barnum.

*District.*

1st.....Clinton W. Cowles.  
                  Charles H. Andrews.  
2d.....Homer Twichell.  
                  Charles A. Elliott.

*District.*

3d.....William H. Shields.  
                  Joshua A. Perkins.  
4th.....David M. Reed.  
                  Augustus H. Fenn.

## DELAWARE.

## AT LARGE.

George Gray.	James L. Wolcott.
George H. Bates.	E. L. Martin.
James Williams.	John W. Causey.

## FLORIDA.

## AT LARGE.

C. P. Cooper.	E. P. Dismukes.
W. H. Sebring.	W. H. Milton.
P. P. Bishop.	W. T. Orman.
E. A. Todd.	B. S. Lidden.
C. E. Dyke.	C. L. Mitchell.
W. S. Jones.	W. C. Brown.
W. D. Chipley.	Z. King.
C. H. Smith.	Aristides Doggett.

## GEORGIA.

## AT LARGE.

Evan P. Howell.	Alex. R. Lawton.
A. O. Bacon.	Patrick Walsh.

*District.*

1st.....	Joseph L. Sweat.
	Richard W. Grubb.
2d.....	John Tripplett.
	Marston O'Neal.
3d.....	Walter T. McArthur.
	Charles C. Duncan.
4th.....	Frank M. Longley.
	J. H. Martin.
5th.....	W. C. Parker.
	George Hillyer.

*District.*

6th.....	George W. Gustin.
	J. E. F. Matthews.
7th.....	L. Colyar.
	M. Dwinnel.
8th.....	H. T. Lewis.
	Milton P. Reese.
9th.....	W. I. Pike.
	William E. Simons.
10th.....	William H. Parsons.
	E. Floyd Lawson.

## ILLINOIS.

## AT LARGE.

John M. Palmer.  
William R. Morrison.

John C. Black.  
Lambert Tree.

*District.*

1st.....J. C. Mackin.  
              W. C. Seipp.  
2d.....E. F. Cullerton.  
              J. H. Hildreth.  
3d.....Carter H. Harrison.  
              Christian Casselman.  
4th.....Harry Rubens.  
              F. H. Winston.  
5th.....J. F. Glidden.  
              G. W. Renwick.  
6th.....T. J. Sheean.  
              F. H. Marsh.  
7th.....C. H. McConihe.  
              Sherwood Dixon.  
8th.....A. J. O'Connor.  
              J. R. S. Scoville.  
9th.....Andrew Kerr.  
              W. R. Dunn.  
10th.....S. P. Shope.  
              Strawther Givens.

*District.*

11th.....B. T. Cable.  
              John H. Hungate.  
12th.....Ellis Briggs.  
              W. L. Vandeventer.  
13th.....W. P. Callon.  
              Benj. Prettyman.  
14th.....A. E. Stevenson.  
              Charles A. Ewing.  
15th.....Joseph B. Mann.  
              William A. Day.  
16th.....Lewis B. Parsons.  
              J. H. Hawley.  
17th.....Anthony Thornton.  
              Jesse J. Phillips.  
18th.....William H. Krone.  
              C. D. Hoiles.  
19th.....Charles E. McDowell.  
              Wm. A. J. Sparks.  
20th.....William J. Allen.  
              William H. Green.

## INDIANA.

## AT LARGE.

Thos. A. Hendricks.  
Daniel W. Voorhees.

Robert C. Bell.  
Charles Danby.

*District.*

1st.....G. V. Menzies.  
              F. Lowenstein.  
2d.....J. M. Andrews.  
              Samuel H. Taylor.  
3d.....Jason B. Brown.  
              G. H. D. Gibson.  
4th.....E. D. Bannister.  
              J. H. Woolford.  
5th.....Thomas W. Woollen.  
              P. H. McCormick.  
6th.....W. A. Bickle.  
              Harry Wysor.  
7th.....O. B. Hord.  
              Peter Lieber.

*District.*

8th.....Thomas F. Davidson.  
              C. F. McNutt.  
9th.....A. J. Brunt.  
              S. S. Dailey.  
10th.....Clinton Chamberlain.  
              A. L. Jones.  
11th.....D. Yengling.  
              Hugh Daugherty.  
12th.....Herman Freygang.  
              Henry Colerick.  
13th.....Hudson Beck.  
              Daniel McDonald.

## IOWA.

## AT LARGE.

L. G. Kinne.  
H. H. Trimble.

D. M. Harris.  
E. H. Thayer.

*District.*

1st.....George F. Smith.  
                John H. Walbank.  
2d.....W. F. Brannan.  
                L. B. Wadleigh.  
3d.....F. N. Schroeder.  
                P. C. Dithlefsen.  
4th.....F. D. Bayliss.  
                A. O. Doolittle.  
5th.....George J. Boal.  
                John Ryder.  
6th.....T. B. Perry.  
                E. H. Gibbs.

*District.*

7th.....L. W. Goode.  
                T. R. North.  
8th.....J. H. Duggan.  
                William Bradley.  
9th.....Daniel M. Farrell.  
                J. M. Emmert.  
10th.....N. B. Hyatt.  
                John Cleggitt.  
11th.....P. M. Guthrie.  
                P. O. Cassidy.

## KANSAS.

## AT LARGE.

G. W. Glick.  
W. C. Perry.

T. P. Fenlon.  
Thomas J. Hudson.

*District.*

1st....C. C. Burns.  
                Edward Carroll.  
2d.....B. J. Sheridan.  
                W. C. Jones.  
3d.....C. C. Black.  
                A. Mathewson.  
4th.....H. E. Norton.  
                J. Mileham.

*District.*

5th.....A. H. Martin.  
                E. A. Hallowell.  
6th.....John H. Schaffer.  
                J. Schlyer.  
7th.....W. F. Pettillon.  
                C. F. Diffendecker.

## KENTUCKY.

## AT LARGE.

Henry Watterson.  
J. Stoddard Johnson.

James A. McKenzie.  
Thomas L. Jones.

*District.*

1st.....J. D. White.  
                R. A. Burnett.  
2d.....Hunter Wood.  
                W. D. Orr.  
3d.....W. B. Jefferson.  
                William F. Owsley.  
4th.....W. C. McCord.  
                A. J. Gross.  
5th.....John G. Roach.  
                Thomas H. Sherley.  
6th.....L. C. Norman.  
                Prank P. Helm.

*District.*

7th.....Attila Cox.  
                T. J. Megibben.  
8th.....W. G. Welch.  
                Edward McKee.  
9th.....E. J. Bradford.  
                James Hiner.  
10th.....Lewis Apperson.  
                Gilbert Garrard.  
11th.....T. J. Oats.  
                J. B. Montgomery.



## LOUISIANA.

## AT LARGE.

E. A. Burke.

R. C. Wickliffe.

B. F. Jonas.

A. A. Gunby.

*District.*

1st.....John Fitzpatrick.  
                   John Duffy.  
 2d.....P. Mealey.  
                   James D. Houston.  
 3d.....W. B. McCall.  
                   James A. Ware.

*District.*

4th.....James Jeffries.  
                   W. H. Wise.  
 5th.....James Goldman.  
                   J. B. Newton.  
 6th.....Charles E. Parlange.  
                   E. T. Lewis.

## MAINE.

## AT LARGE.

Payson Tucker.

William M. Rust.

David R. Hastings.

James F. Rawson.

*District.*

1st.....Charles H. Chase.  
                   E. W. Staples.  
 2d.....C. H. Osgood.  
                   Richard T. Rundlett.

*District.*

3d.....Thomas H. Swazey.  
                   Benjamin Bunker.  
 4th.....A. J. Chase.  
                   John P. Donworth.

## MARYLAND.

## AT LARGE.

John Lee Carroll.

Charles J. M. Gwinn.

William Walsh.

Richard T. Hynson.\*

*District.*

1st.....Robert F. Brattan.  
                   James C. Dirrickson.  
 2d.....D. W. Henning.  
                   John S. Wirt.  
 3d.....Robert J. Slater.†  
                   William I. Montague.

*District.*

4th.....Frederick Raine.  
                   John J. Fenton.  
 5th.....Dr. George Welles.  
                   Fillmore Beall.  
 6th.....Hattersly W. Talbott.  
                   Gilmore S. Hamill.

\* Will not be present. United States Senator Arthur P. Gorman will replace him.

† Will not be present. James A. L. McClure will replace him.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

## AT LARGE.

Benjamin F. Butler.  
Josiah G. Abbott.

M. J. McCafferty.  
James Delaney.

*District.*

- 1st. . . . . John W. Cummings.  
Charles A. W. Oesting.  
2d. . . . . A. C. Drinkwater.  
William L. Douglass.  
3d. . . . . Patrick Maguire.  
Frederick O. Prince.  
4th. . . . . Thomas J. Denny.  
William P. Carroll.  
5th. . . . . Jeremiah W. Coveney.  
John M. Wood.  
6th. . . . . Alfred A. Mower.  
Patrick J. Donovan.  
7th. . . . . Henry H. Hale.  
Daniel H. Crowley.

*District.*

- 8th. . . . . John Breen.  
W. M. Hoar.  
9th. . . . . J. W. Corcoran.  
Charles D. Lewis.  
10th. . . . . James E. Estabrook.  
John Hopkins.  
11th. . . . . Frank J. Pratt.  
Leander B. Morse.  
12th. . . . . Joseph T. Callan.  
E. McA. Learned.  
A. L. Perry.  
George H. Bleloch.

## MICHIGAN.

## AT LARGE.

Timothy E. Tarsney.  
O. W. Powers.

Orlando M. Barnes.  
A. P. Swineford.

*District.*

- 1st. . . . . Daniel J. Campan.  
John Harrison.  
2d. . . . . F. M. Holloway.  
John Strong.  
3d. . . . . Michael Shoemaker.  
Devillo Hubbard.  
4th. . . . . C. H. Kimmerlee.  
F. E. Stevens.  
5th. . . . . Horace B. Peck.  
John H. Withey.  
6th. . . . . M. L. Bagg.  
Arthur J. Eddy.

*District.*

- 7th. . . . . E. G. Stevenson.  
M. T. Brabb,  
8th. . . . . James K. Wright.  
Jerome W. Turner.  
9th. . . . . R. R. Blacker.  
Daniel E. Soper.  
10th. . . . . S. O. Fisher.  
C. P. Black.  
11th. . . . . William P. Preston.  
John Powers.

## MINNESOTA.

## AT LARGE.

Patrick H. Kelly.  
R. A. Jones.

C. F. McDonald.  
Michael Doran.

*District.*

- 1st. . . . . W. J. Whipple.  
B. S. Cook.  
2d. . . . . John C. Wise.  
Henry Poehler.  
3d. . . . . W. M. Campbell.  
George N. Baxter.

*District.*

- 4th. . . . . R. A. Smith.  
E. W. Durant.  
5th. . . . . T. E. Heenan.  
A. Guernon.

## MISSISSIPPI.

## AT LARGE.

E. C. Walthal.  
R. O. Reynolds.

W. L. Keirne.  
Charles E. Hooker.

*District.*

1st.....C. A. Johnston.  
James Kincannon.  
2d.....W. C. Faulkner.  
James T. Fant.  
3d.....W. A. Percy.  
J. Y. Walton.\*  
4th.....W. B. Barker.  
R. F. Holloway.

*District.*

5th.....M. A. Henry.  
F. Pettus.  
6th.....D. C. Bramlette.  
C. H. Wood.  
7th.....L. N. Baldwin.  
R. H. Henry.

\*Will not attend. N. H. Harris will replace him.

## MISSOURI.

## AT LARGE.

John O'Day.  
Morrison Munford.

David R. Francis.  
Charles H. Mansur.

*District.*

1st.....W. H. Sears.  
J. W. Howard.  
2d.....Edgar M. Harber.  
P. J. Carmody.  
3d.....J. B. Thomas.  
Thomas H. Frame.  
4th.....Waller Young.  
Levi Zook.  
5th.....E. L. Martin.  
R. A. Collins.  
6th.....B. F. Reavis.  
T. H. Baskin.  
7th.....Henry Clark.  
J. H. Garth.

*District.*

8th.....E. A. Noonan.  
Henry F. Harrington.  
9th.....David W. Caruth.  
Charles C. Maffitt.  
10th.....Jasper N. Burks.  
Paul Young.  
11th.....E. B. Ewing.  
W. M. Lennox.  
12th.....R. T. Railey.  
J. L. Pace.  
13th.....O. D. Knox.  
W. H. Phelps.  
14th.....Newton J. Morrison.  
A. H. Livingston.

## NEBRASKA.

## AT LARGE.

James E. Boyd.  
J. Sterling Morton.

W. H. Munger.  
Tobias Castor.

*District.*

1st.....G. P. Marvin.  
John I. Creighton.  
2d.....R. A. Beatty.  
A. J. Rittenhouse.

*District.*

3d.....Patrick Fahey.  
John A. Higgins.

## NEVADA.

## AT LARGE.

D. E. McCarthy.	R. Sadler.
E. P. Hardesty.	Fielding Lemmon.
J. H. Dennis *	Matthew Canavan.

\*Will not be present. J. B. Moore, his alternate, will replace him.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE.

## AT LARGE.

Frank Jones.	Frank A. McKean.
Henry O. Kent.	Alvah W. Sulloway.
<i>District.</i>	<i>District.</i>
1st.....John F. Cloutman.	2d.....Hosea W. Parker.
Patrick Fahey.	Harry Bingham.

## NEW JERSEY.

## AT LARGE.

John R. McPherson.	John P. Stockton.
Leon Abbett.	James Smith, Jr.
<i>District.</i>	<i>District.</i>
1st.....Andrew J. Steelman.	5th.....Thomas J. Flynn.
Daniel F. Crean.	Carmon F. Randolph.
2d.....Hezekiah B. Smith.	6th.....William Harrigan.
R. M. J. Smith.	Gottfried Kreuger.
3d.....Millard F. Ross.	7th.....Orestes Cleveland.
George W. Brown.	Martin Steljes.
4th.....John Carpenter, Jr.	
M. H. Vanderveer.	

## NEW YORK.

## AT LARGE.

Daniel Manning.	Edward Cooper.
John C. Jacobs.	Lester B. Faulkner.
<i>District.</i>	<i>District.</i>
1st.....John H. Sutphin.	5th.....Archibald M. Bliss.
Benj. W. Downing.	Michael O'Keefe.
2d.....Felix Campbell.	6th.....M. C. Murphy.
John Y. McKane.	Luke F. Cozans.
3d.....William C. Kingsley.	7th.....Abram S. Hewitt.
A. Van Wyck.	August Belmont.
4th.....Henry J. Cullen.	8th.....Michael Norton.
James Kane.	Thomas F. Grady.

9th.....	John Keenan. John M. Bowers.	22d.....	Daniel Magone. John Lansing.
10th.....	Hubert O. Thompson. William R. Travers.	23d.....	James Stevens. Charles D. Moore.
11th.....	John Kelly. John R. Fellows.	24th.....	Stephen L. Mayhem. Robert M. Townsend.
12th.....	William C. Whitney. Joseph J. O'Donohue.	25th.....	Henry J. Mowry. L. J. Fitzgerald.
13th.....	Andrew J. White. John McQuade.	26th.....	Eliot Danforth. John G. Sears.
14th.....	W. G. Stahlnecker. George D. Sanford.	27th.....	Henry D. Brewster. Silas N. Gallup.
15th.....	Peter Ward. Andrew H. Jackman.	28th.....	E. K. Appar. David B. Hill.
16th.....	Samuel J. Tilden, Jr. George Williams.	29th.....	John Flanigan. Michael A. Leary.
17th.....	Alton B. Parker. Francis R. Gilbert.	30th.....	William Purcell. Jacob Gerling.
18th.....	Edward Murphy. Robert Hamilton.	31st.....	James A. Hanlon. J. D. Lane.
19th.....	A. Bleecker Banks. Erastus Corning.	32d.....	Solomon Scheu. Daniel N. Lockwood.
20th.....	E. Winslow Paige. James W. Green.	33d.....	John M. Wiley. David Millar.
21st.....	Smith M. Weed. Henry D. Graves.	34th.....	Charles D. Murray. James W. McMahon.

## NORTH CAROLINA.

## AT LARGE.

Thomas Ruffin.

George H. Brown.

Julian S. Carr.

William T. Dortch.

*District.*

1st.....	E. F. Lamb. W. G. Lamb.
2d.....	Henry G. Williams. Thomas L. Emry.
3d.....	Julius A. Bonitz. Edward J. Hale.
4th.....	Paul F. Faison.* W. W. Fuller.
5th.....	A. B. Galloway. J. C. Buxton.

*District.*

6th.....	Thomas W. Strange. James T. LeGrand.
7th.....	Francis E. Shober. M. H. Pinnix.
8th.....	B. C. Cobb H. D. Lee.
9th.....	J. G. Martin. Kope Elias.

\*Cannot attend, and T. M. Arrington, his alternate, will replace him.



## OREGON.

## AT LARGE.

L. L. McArthur.  
W. T. Cook.  
P. J. Hogan.

V. R. Strode.  
A. E. Waite.  
T. L. Porter.

## OHIO.

## AT LARGE.

Durbin Ward.  
Allen G. Thurman.

John R. McLean.  
Jacob Mueller.

*District.*

1st.....D. J. Dalton.  
Lewis G. Bernard.  
2d.....J. J. Brady.  
J. C. Riley.  
3d.....R. J. Sorg.  
William Dechant.  
4th.....W. D. McKemy.  
J. C. Turpen.  
5th.....M. D. Shaw.  
Jacob Forbing.  
6th.....George H. Marsh.  
M. R. Willett.  
7th.....Samuel D. Houp.  
J. A. Norton.  
8th.....Chas. W. Constantine.  
J. P. Martin.  
9th.....S. K. Donavin.  
S. N. McCloud.  
10th.....William E. Haynes.  
John H. McGee.  
11th.....J. C. Shoemaker.  
R. M. Deety.

*District.*

12th.....W. A. Hutchins.  
B. F. Ellsbery.  
13th.....John G. Thompson.  
Charles Rose.  
14th.....J. G. Huffman.  
S. A. Dunbar.  
15th.....George M. Jewett.  
Casey S. Brady.  
16th.....W. T. Alberson.  
F. S. Reefy.  
17th.....Gen. A. J. Warner.  
Thomas E. Shelley.  
18th.....W. S. Potts.  
Daniel McConville.  
19th.....D. B. Woods.  
H. P. Fricker.  
20th.....Benj. Desenberg.  
R. S. Shields.  
21st.....John H. Farley.  
W. W. Armstrong.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

## AT LARGE.

William F. Harrity.  
William A. Wallace.  
James P. Barr.

Eckley B. Coxe.  
Benjamin F. Myers.  
William H. Sowden.

*District.*

1st.....Robert S. Patterson.  
George McGowan.  
2d.....Walter Maguire.\*  
John R. Read.  
3d.....William J. McCully.  
John M. Campbell.

*District.*

4th.....Samuel Josephs.  
Thomas Delahanty.  
5th.....Michael Egan.  
John Fullerton.  
6th.....J. L. Forwood.  
Ezra Evans.

\* Will not be present. Isaac S. Cassin will replace him.

7th.....Charles Hunsicker.  
George Ross.  
8th.....George Smith, Jr.  
George F. Baer, †  
9th.....B. F. Davis.  
William Patten, ‡  
10th.....Edward Harvey.  
William Mutchler.  
11th.....David Lowenberg.  
R. B. Fruit.  
12th.....J. K. Bogert.  
J. H. Burns.  
13th.....James Ellis.  
William A. Marr.  
14th....A. J. Dull.  
W. L. Dewart, Sr.  
15th.....George A. Post.  
James W. Piatt.  
16th.....R. P. Allen.  
E. L. Keenan.  
17th.....L. D. Woodruff.  
A. H. Coffroth.

18th.....D. A. Orr.  
Joseph C. Barrett.  
19th.....D. B. Saxton.  
Edward D. Zeigler.  
20th.....W. W. Rankin.  
Harry A. Hall.  
21st.....John A. Marchand.  
T. B. Searight.  
22d.....Patrick Foley.  
Gilbert T. Rafferty.  
23d.....Malcolm Hay.  
William Dickson.  
24th.....James B. R. Streator.  
John M. Buchanan.  
25th.....E. D. Graff.  
John F. Brown.  
26th.....Walter Pierce.  
John L. McKinney.  
27th.....Benjamin Whitman.  
Charles H. Noyes.

† Will not be present. S. E. Ancona will replace him.

‡ Will not be present. J. A. Buch will replace him.

## RHODE ISLAND.

AT LARGE.

J. B. Barnaby.  
Elisha Mathewson.

Charles H. Page.  
Edward Smith.

*District.*

1st.....John J. Christie.  
John Waters.

*District.*

2d.....Thos. McGuire, Jr.  
David S. Baker, Jr.

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

AT LARGE.

Wade Hampton.  
C. H. Suber.

F. W. Dawson.  
Leroy F. Youmans.

*District.*

1st.....W. St. Julian Jervey.  
James F. Izlar.  
2d.....J. W. Moore.  
D. S. Henderson.  
3d.....W. Z. McGhee.  
J. C. Carey.  
4th.....W. B. Stanley.  
John B. Cleveland.

*District.*

5th.....Giles J. Patterson.  
E. M. Boykin.  
6th.....P. L. Breeden.  
A. F. Harllee.  
7th.....C. St. George Sinkler.  
J. H. Earle.

## TENNESSEE.

## AT LARGE.

Albert T. McNeal.

S. A. Champion.

Thomas L. Williams.

John F. House.

*District.*

1st.....W. S. Dickson.  
                   John Slack.  
 2d.....T. W. Henderson.  
                   J. C. Cawood.  
 3d.....John H. Savage.  
                   James Johnson.  
 4th.....R. P. McClain.  
                   D. W. Dinges.  
 5th.....Thomas R. Myers.  
                   J. C. New.

*District.*

6th.....W. A. Quarles.  
                   George S. Kinney.  
 7th.....Lucius E. Polk.  
                   Thomas E. Haynes.  
 8th.....H. W. McCorry.  
                   H. C. Towns.  
 9th.....F. P. Bond.  
                   T. E. Richardson.  
 10th.....Luke E. Wright.  
                   D. K. Riddick.

## TEXAS.

## AT LARGE.

Richard B. Hubbard.

Thomas J. Brown.

D. C. Gidding.

John Peter Smith.

*District.*

1st.....O. T. Holt.  
                   John Henderson.  
 2d.....T. T. Gammage.  
                   D. A. Nunn.  
 3d.....H. Kretz.  
                   H. M. Cate.  
 4th.....J. B. Donahue.  
                   J. M. Adams.  
 5th.....Silas Hare.  
                   G. P. Mead.  
 6th.....J. W. Ferris.  
                   J. P. McFarland.

*District.*

7th.....N. S. Gussett.  
                   C. C. Sweeney.  
 8th.....W. H. Burgess.  
                   R. L. Ford.  
 9th.....J. C. Alexander.  
                   E. J. Simpkins.  
 10th.....Henry Exall.  
                   Joseph E. Dwyer.  
 11th.....J. R. Fleming.  
                   C. K. Bell.

## VERMONT.

## AT LARGE.

B. B. Smalley.

Frank H. Bascom.

John C. Burke.

Amos Aldrich.

*District.*

1st.....J. D. Hanrahan.  
                   James A. Brown.

*District.*

2d.....George L. Spear.  
                   W. A. Richardson.

## VIRGINIA.

## AT LARGE.

John S. Barbour.

John T. Harris.

Richard F. Beirne.

Page McCarthy.

*District.*

1st. . . . . W. A. Thom.

George Walker.

2d. . . . . J. Barron Hope.

J. H. Bogart.

3d. . . . . B. H. Nash.

B. A. Hancock.

4th. . . . . P. W. McKinney.

S. W. Venable.

5th. . . . . J. S. Tipton.

C. G. Holland.

*District.*

6th. . . . . John R. Thurman.

Paul C. Edmunds.

7th. . . . . J. M. McCormick.

S. V. Southall.

8th. . . . . Robert Beverley.

Charles E. Stuart.

9th. . . . . D. S. Pierce.

R. A. Ayres.

10th. . . . . S. J. Graham.

Taylor Berry.

## WEST VIRGINIA.

## AT LARGE.

Lewis Baker.

J. N. Van Meter.

B. F. Harlow.

D. H. Leonard.

*District.*

1st. . . . . W. E. Lively.

E. McDonald.

2d. . . . . H. G. Davis.

E. O. Wells.

*District.*

3d. . . . . Frank Hereford.

Wesley Mollohan.

4th. . . . . C. T. Beall.

George W. Thompson.

## WISCONSIN.

## AT LARGE.

William F. Vilas.

James G. Jenkins.

E. S. Bragg.

J. M. Morrow.

*District.*

1st. . . . . James R. Doolittle.

Anson Rogers.

2d. . . . . A. K. Delaney.

Barney S. Potter.

3d. . . . . D. S. Rose.

R. M. Bashford.

4th. . . . . John Black

Charles F. Freeman.

5th. . . . . A. L. Gray.

Carl Zillier.

*District.*

6th. . . . . G. W. Pratt.

George Kreiss.

7th. . . . . J. W. Lusk.

J. L. R. McCollum.

8th. . . . . W. H. Smith.

G. Y. Freeman.

9th. . . . . Alexander Brazeau.

L. Marchette.

## ARIZONA.

G. H. Ouray.

W. K. Meade.

## DAKOTA.

F. M. Ziebach.

L. W. McCormick.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Wm. Dickson.

Edward D. Wright.

## IDAHO.

J. B. Oldham.

John M. Silcott.

## MONTANA.

Samuel Word.

S. I. Houser.

## NEW MEXICO.

H. L. Warren.

G. W. Stoneroad.

## UTAH.

Ransford Smith.

J. H. Wilkins.

## WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

J. A. Kuhn.

M. B. Dutro.

## WYOMING.

Phillip Dater.

J. M. Lobban.

THE CHAIR: The gentlemen from Minnesota (Thomas E. Heenan) offers a resolution.

The Reading Clerk read the resolution of Mr. Heenan as follows:

*“Resolved, That an immediate reduction of the Federal revenue to an amount not greater than is needed for the expenses of the Government is an imperative necessity; the reduction should be accomplished in such manner as to afford the greatest relief to tax-payers by the abolition of duties upon the raw materials of manufacture and articles of prime necessity entering into the cost of living, and by a steady approach to a purely revenue basis of taxation as rapidly as may be accomplished without embarrassment to the Government or the derangement of business by sudden or inexpedient changes.”*

THE CHAIR: The resolution goes to the Committee on Platform.

WADE HAMPTON, of South Carolina: I am instructed by the Delegation of South Carolina to offer the following resolution:



The Reading Clerk read the resolution as follows :

*"Whereas,* The Chairman of the National Democratic Committee is necessarily intrusted with such large powers in the arrangement and conduct of the political campaign, that upon his knowledge, prudence and ability the successful execution of the plans of the party largely depends; and

*"Whereas,* It is, therefore, highly important that the National Democratic Committee in selecting its Chairman should have the Democracy of the whole Union to choose from; therefore,

*"Resolved,* That the National Democratic Committee be not restricted in their selection of a Chairman to the members of the Committee."

THE CHAIR: The resolution goes to the Committee on Platform and Resolutions under the rules. The memorial from Utah before the Convention (having been previously sent to the desk) will be referred to the Committee on Platform without reading unless otherwise required.

The reading of the memorial being called for, the Clerk read as follows :

Offered by Ransford Smith, Delegate from Utah: "The civilized world with entire harmony agreeing that polygamy is an offense against good morals and social order, it is rightfully declared to be a crime; and, while Congress can make no law respecting the free exercise of religion, it can and ought to so legislate as to extirpate polygamy in the Territories, whether entered into as a religious rite or otherwise, and whenever in any Territory the practice of polygamy is encouraged and sustained by the sentiment of the people they should be deprived of political power."

THE CHAIR: It will go to the Committee on Platform under the rules.

MR. GALLUP, of New York: I have a resolution to offer.

MR. O'CONNOR, of Illinois: I desire to make a motion with reference to all resolutions.

THE CHAIR: What is it?

MR. O'CONNOR: I desire to move that all the resolutions be referred to the Committee without being read.

The motion was lost.

THE READING CLERK: Resolution offered by Mr. Gallup, of New York :

*"Resolved, That, believing in a Democratic Government, founded in equitable consideration of and regard for the rights and interests of the governed, protecting and guarding the homes of honest toil as promptly and zealously as it does the palaces of the millionaires, and aware of the great injustice of the present tariff, the Democratic party pronounces unqualifiedly in favor of such a revision of the tariff as shall lessen the duty upon those articles which supply the daily wants of the farmer, mechanic, artisan and laborer; feeding the masses before fattening the monopolists; placing the burdens of the tariff upon the luxuries of the people, and lifting it from the needs of rational existence."*

THE CHAIR: It goes to the Committee on the Platform.

CARTER H. HARRISON, of Illinois: I have a resolution to send up.

THE CHAIR: The resolution offered by the gentleman from Illinois will be read.

THE READING CLERK:

*"Resolved, That the members of the Democratic National Veteran Association now in conference in this city, who have not already been supplied with tickets of admission, be allowed to enter and occupy the vacant seats in the galleries."*

CARTER H. HARRISON: I move its adoption.

This resolution was adopted.

MR. GEO. S. KINNEY, of Tennessee: I desire to offer this resolution.

THE READING CLERK: Mr. Kinney, of Tennessee, offers the following resolution:

*"Resolved, That the Chairman of this Convention be directed to issue additional tickets of admission to the Convention to such of the Delegations attending this Convention, and also to the various clubs and representatives of the press from the distant States, or, if the tickets be not sufficient, that he direct the doorkeepers to admit these persons on their badges."*

MR. KINNEY: Mr. Chairman, I offer the resolution because I witnessed yesterday 5,000 good Democrats marching the streets of this city who had not admission here, when it is well known to every one that visited the Convention that there was room for at

least 2,000 more in seats beside standing room on the floor, and that it is our duty to offer all the tickets and all the accommodations to those who visit from abroad that it is in our power to do. The resolution calls for additional tickets, if you will bear me in mind there, and I hope the Convention will adopt the resolution. I desire to say that this is a matter of considerable importance. I hope, and I believe, and I know that every Delegation on this floor is satisfied that there are persons here that should be admitted, especially when we have empty seats as we have now and standing-room plenty. They have come from a long distance, and we ought to afford them all the accommodation that we can. I move the adoption of the resolution.

MR. WINSTON, of Illinois: Mr. Chairman, I desire to say to this Convention that under the resolution already adopted, offered by my colleague, every unoccupied seat in this Convention has been occupied, and we cannot now stand the press of any more men—the hall is not sufficient to hold them.

THE CHAIR: I am requested by the Chairman of the National Democratic Committee, who has charge of all arrangements with reference to this hall and its procurement in advance of the Convention, to announce that additional tickets have already been issued this morning, and that really they fear that there will be 20 per cent. more, if they all come, than the hall will comfortably entertain.

MR. JOHN D. MCGILVRAY, of Colorado: Mr. Chairman, I have a resolution to offer.

The Reading Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

*“Resolved, That as the public land is the heritage of the people, this Convention looks with alarm——”*

THE CHAIR: I beg the pardon of the Convention. The question recurs on the resolution of the gentleman from Tennessee——

MR. KINNEY, of Tennessee: Yes, I believe the resolution is seconded here.

THE CHAIR: The question is upon the motion of the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Kinney).

MR. A. E. STEVENSON, of Illinois: Mr. Chairman, I move as a substitute to the resolution offered by the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Kinney) that the additional tickets that shall be issued by the National Committee be divided between the Delegates of the

Convention, so that all parts of the country may be represented equally upon the floor of this Convention.

The substitute offered by Mr. Stevenson was adopted.

Mr. McGilvray, of Colorado, now offered his resolution, which was read by the Secretary :

*"Resolved,* That as the public land is the heritage of the people, this Convention looks with alarm on the acquisition of large tracts of public land by corporations for the purpose of speculation and not for actual settlement."

THE CHAIR : The resolution goes to the Committee on Platform and Resolutions.

THE READING CLERK : A resolution by Mr. Schaffer of Kansas——

Mr. A. O. BACON, of Georgia : Mr. Chairman, I have a resolution which I desire to present, and ask that it be referred to the Committee.

THE CHAIR : There is a resolution already in the hands of the Secretary. The gentleman will be recognized after it has been read.

The Reading Clerk then read the resolution which had been sent up by Mr. John H. Schaffer, of Kansas, as follows :

*"Resolved,* That reform is necessary in the civil service. We arraign the Republican party for promises falsified in the performance, as shown by the passage of an alleged Civil Service Reform bill, which was justly opposed by our Representatives in Congress as being wholly inadequate to remedy existing evils and only calculated to aid the enemies of all genuine reform to fraudulently assume the rôle of civil service reformers.

"The enforcement of even such a wholly-insufficient measure must, under our Constitution, be left entirely to the discretion of the President ; and the election of a Chief Executive hostile to a proper improvement of the public service would utterly abrogate this insignificant concession to the demand of the people for reform.

"The great calamity which befell our country in the assassination of the Chief Executive chosen at the last general election has been attributed to the bitter factional warfare engendered within the Republican party by the 'spoils system.' That such occurrences are fraught with great dangers to our Government will be admitted by all candid men. We hold that these facts should admonish all

parties that the highest duty of the hour is to relieve our Presidents in part, if not wholly, from the burdensome duty of appointing, or nominating, the 100,000 officials constituting the civil service, to the end that the head of our Government may be less exposed to the murderous vengeance of disappointed office-seekers.

"The Democratic party, in view of these facts, most solemnly pledges itself, if called by the people to administer the Government, to use all honorable means to secure the speedy adoption of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing that the postmasters of the United States shall be chosen by ballot by the qualified voters of the city, town, or district wherein such post-office is located. This measure, repeatedly introduced in Congress by Democratic Senators, and smothered by a Republican committee, would alone be effective, and would result in reducing to one-half their present proportions the spoils at the disposal of a partisan President, together with the attending power of unduly influencing our elections, and thereby correspondingly increase the power of the sovereign people to make effective their influence upon public men and measures through the ballot-box."

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Platform and Resolutions.

Mr. Bacon, of Georgia, now re-offered his resolution, which was read as follows :

"*Resolved*, That while the right is recognized in each National Convention to prescribe the rules by which it shall be governed, this Convention suggests that the interests of the party and the rights of minorities will be best conserved by according to each Delegate in future Conventions the right to have his vote recorded on each question as he himself shall determine."

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Platform under the rule.

Mr. L. L. McArthur, of Oregon, offered the following resolution :

"*Resolved*, That we are in favor of a gradual and systematic reduction of the present tariff taxes until the evil of an enormous surplus shall be counteracted and wholly overcome."



The resolution was referred to the Committee on Platforms and Resolutions.

Mr. Burns, of Pennsylvania, submitted a resolution as follows :

*“Resolved,* That in case of the death of the nominee for President or Vice-President the Chairman of the Convention shall have power to call the Convention together to fill the vacancy.”

The resolution was referred, under the rule, to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. J. J. Fenton, of Maryland, submitted the following resolution, which was read by the Clerk and referred to the same Committee under the rule :

*“Resolved,* By the Democratic National Convention, that the amelioration of the condition of the labor element of this country is an end worthy of the noblest effort of the Democratic party, and, recognizing that fact, we pledge ourselves to the repeal of all legislation which, under the Administration of the Republican party, has tended to pauperize labor while at the same time creating an oligarchy of wealth dangerous to Republican institutions.”

THE CHAIR : It will be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The following resolution, offered by Mr. Boyd, of Nebraska, was read by the Clerk :

*“Resolved,* That the Democratic party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, now amounting to over one hundred millions annually, not by the vicious process proposed by James G. Blaine (by division among the States), a proposition that was looked upon by every sensible man as the visionary scheme of a political demagogue, unworthy of a moment's serious consideration, but by a gradual, wise and sensible revision limiting it to the wants of the Government, economically administered.”

THE CHAIR : The Clerk will read a resolution offered by Mr. Mueller, of Ohio :

*“Resolved,* That it is the sense of this National Democratic Convention that an amendment to the Constitution be submitted to the

people of the States of the Union changing the Presidential term of office from four to six years.

THE CHAIR: It goes to the Committee on Platform and Resolutions.

THE READING CLERK: A resolution offered by Mr. Joshua Perkins, of Connecticut:

*The Democracy of the United States, in National Convention assembled, again declares its fealty and fidelity to the Constitution.*

*Reform Legislation.*—It declares that the public welfare demands that the evils and burdens of the maladministration of the Republican party should be immediately and forever removed.

*Civil Service.*—It demands that the civil service should be purified by the adoption of the Jeffersonian test and requirement of capability and integrity.

*Tariff and Internal Revenue.*—It demands that the internal revenue and tariff on foreign imports should be based on the just and imperative requirements of revenue reduction and reform and yet be sufficient for annual governmental expenses, and a judicious annual reduction of the National debt, and so equalized and distributed as shall best promote the equal and inseparable interests of labor and capital, agriculture and manufactures.

*Financial.*—It declares its unqualified acceptance of the sentiments of Washington with reference to the payment of National indebtedness: "Allow me to hope it will be a favorite policy with you not merely to secure the payment of the interest of the debt funded, but, as far and as fast as the growing resources of the country will permit, to exonerate it of the principal itself." (Message, 1790.)

"Avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debt which unavoidable wars have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear." (Farewell.)

It declares that a full legal tender currency based on the faith of the Government or on a coin deposit secures to the people a safe, convenient and uniform medium of exchange.

*Public Lands.*—It declares that the prodigal gifts of the public lands by the Republican party was a crime against the American

pioneer, settler and citizen, and should be revoked and regained when just cause exists therefor, and opened only to actual settlers in reasonably limited quantities and at minimum prices.

*Poligamy.*—It declares in the interest of civilization, virtue, social and domestic well-being, that in all the Territories poligamy should be prohibited and utterly extinguished.

*Foreign Policy.*—It demands that, being at peace with all sister nations, our foreign policy should be an honorable avoidance of "entangling alliances," and a vigorous maintenance of governmental and individual rights whenever and wherever American commerce and American citizenship may require.

*Revival of American Commerce.*—It demands in the interest of American shipping and American Commerce that a judicious rebate be made in tariff duties on all imports made in American ships, built, owned, officered and manned by American citizens, sufficient to permanently restore American ship-building and American commerce to its former prosperity.

*Revival of Labor.*—It demands that the equal interests and rights of the producer and consumer, the laborer and capitalist, the agriculturist and manufacturer should receive from Federal legislation equal encouragement and protection.

*Interstate Commerce.*—It declares its firm reliance upon the intelligence and wisdom of the people of each and every State to regulate their own domestic and internal interests in conformity and within their reserved Constitutional rights without State or Federal interference.

*Legislative Reform.*—It declares its purpose thus to remove the burdens ; to reform the abuses and banish the corruptions which the Republican party has for years imposed upon the people ; to seek to restore commerce, agriculture and manufactures to prosperity ; to give labor and capital equal encouragement ; to recognize and protect the equality of every citizen in the right of the elective franchise ; to seek to bring back the Federal administration to the standard of economy and integrity which in former times gave respect, luster and honor to the American Republic.

The resolution was referred under the rules.

THE READING CLERK: Mr. J. G. Higgins, of Nebraska, offers the following :

"Resolved, That the disposal of the public lands of the United

States be limited to actual settlers, and in quantities of 160 acres each."

Mr. Thomas H. Sherley, of Kentucky, offers the following resolution :

"*Resolved*, That at 3 o'clock P. M. this day the roll of States be called and that nominations be made for President."

The question was put on the adoption of the resolution.

THE CHAIR : The Chair is in doubt.

The question was again put and declared lost.

Mr. George Hillier, of Georgia, offered the following :

"*Resolved*, That the National Democracy demand and, when empowered, will enforce tariff reform and tariff reduction down to a standard that shall be strictly limited in amount to the raising of such revenue as may be necessary for the purposes of government, economically and honestly administered."

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. J. S. Johnston, of Kentucky, offered the following:

"*Resolved*, That all resolutions relating to the principles or policy of the party be referred to the Committee on Platforms without being read by the Clerk, and the Convention proceed to its permanent organization."

This resolution was adopted.

The following resolutions were read by title and referred to the Committee on Resolutions :

By J. W. Turner, of Michigan, in relation to election of President and Vice-President by popular vote:

"*Resolved*, That there should be an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of President and Vice-President by the popular vote."

By Lawrence Archer, of California, as to effective exclusion of Chinese:

"*Resolved*, That the residence of Chinese in the United States is in every sense pernicious and especially injurious to the dignity of

American labor, and that it is the duty of Congress to amend existing laws so as to make exclusion effective."

By C. J. Carmody, of Missouri, in relation to consideration of Chinese question:

"*Resolved*, That proper consideration be given to the Chinese question, as it has been a curse to American labor and advancement."

By T. L. Porter, of Oregon, in relation to effectual laws restricting Chinese immigration:

"*Resolved*, That the passage of more effective laws restricting Chinese immigration is imperatively necessary to the protection of the homes and vital interests of the people of the Pacific States and Territories."

MR. A. J. O'CONNOR, of Illinois: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman will state his point of order.

MR. O'CONNOR: I desire to know whether that resolution which was just adopted was a reconsideration of the motion made by me a few moments ago; and if the gentleman did not vote in the negative, I insist it was not in order, and that we are to listen now to the balance of the resolutions.

THE CHAIR: There is no record of the fact. The Chair will recognize the resolution adopted as the law of the house.

The Clerk continued reading the titles of resolutions, as follows:

By E. A. Burke, of Louisiana, memorial of the American Home for Protection from the American Saloon:

FOR GOD AND HOME AND NATIVE LAND.

THE MEMORIAL OF THE AMERICAN HOME FOR PROTECTION FROM  
THE AMERICAN SALOON.

N. B.—The following memorial is to be presented to each National Political Convention this Spring, and to Congress next Winter. It is issued under the auspices of the National Woman's Christian



Temperance Union, and is strictly nonpartisan. It will be presented by a delegation of ladies representing all parts of the United States.

FRANCES E. WILLARD,  
*President National Woman's Christian Temperance Union,*  
 16 East 14th Street, N. Y. City.

J. ELLEN FOSTER,  
*National Supt. Dept. of Legislation and Petitions.*

CAROLINE B. BUELL, *Cor. Sec.*  
 MARY A. WOODBRIDGE, *Rec. Sec.*  
 L. M. N. STEVENS, *Asst. Rec. Sec.*  
 ESTHER PUGH, *Treasurer.*

*To the National Convention of the  
 Democratic Party :*

We, members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the United States, herein represented by the signatures of our officers, believe that, while the poison habits of the Nation can be largely restrained by an appeal to the intellect through argument, to the heart through sympathy, and to the conscience through the motives of religion, the traffic in those poisons will be best controlled by prohibitory law.

We believe the teachings of science, experience and the golden rule combine to testify against the traffic in alcoholic liquors as a drink, and that the homes of America, which are the citadels of patriotism, purity and happiness, have no enemy so relentless as the American saloon.

Therefore, as citizens of the United States, irrespective of sect or section, but having deeply at heart the protection of our homes, we do hereby respectfully and earnestly petition you to advocate and to adopt such measures as are requisite, to the end that prohibition of the importation, exportation, manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages may become an integral part of the National Constitution.

And that your party candidate shall be, by character and public pledge, committed to a National Constitutional Prohibitory Amendment.

FRANCES E. WILLARD, *President.*  
 C. B. BUELL, *Cor. Secretary.*  
 MARY A. WOODBRIDGE, *Rec. Secretary.*  
 L. M. N. STEVENS, *Treasurer.*

By J. C. Alexander, of Texas, in relation to encroachments of Federal Judiciary:

*"Resolved, That the insidious encroachments of the Federal Judiciary upon the jurisdiction of the Courts of the States is dangerous to the interests of the people, and that the jurisdiction of the Circuit Courts of the United States in civic causes should be diminished by law."*

By J. M. Adams, of Texas, in relation to Tariff for Revenue only:

*"Resolved, That the Democratic party of the United States are in favor of tariff for revenue only."*

By W. A. Bickle, of Indiana, in relation to admission tickets:

*"Resolved, That each ticket of admission to the platform, now limited to the third day only, be and the same shall be good for admission during the residue of the sittings of this Convention."*

MR. H. RUBENS, of Illinois: I now move that this Convention proceed to hear the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization.

The motion was adopted.

THE CHAIR: If the Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization is ready to report, he will send up his report.

Gov. Grant, of Colorado, the Chairman, did so.

The Reading Clerk then read the report as follows:

*To the National Democratic Convention of 1884:*

Your Committee on Permanent Organization beg leave to submit the following report:

FOR PRESIDENT OF THE CONVENTION:

WILLIAM F. VILAS,

*of Wisconsin.*

FOR VICE-PRESIDENTS:

CHARLES L. SCOTT.....Alabama.	C. P. COOPER.....Florida.
JOHN D. ADAMS.....Arkansas.	GEORGE HILLIER.....Georgia.
H. M. LARUE.....California.	ANTHONY THORNTON.....Illinois.
DENNIS SULLIVAN.....Colorado.	PETER LIEBER... ..Indiana.
JOSHUA PERKINS.....Connecticut.	W. H. BRANNAN.....Iowa.
JAMES WILLIAMS.....Delaware.	JOHN MILEHAM.....Kansas.

THOMAS L. JONES.....Kentucky.	WILLIAM R. TRAVERS.....New York.
JOHN FITZPATRICK..... Louisiana.	FRANCIS C. SHOBER. . .North Carolina.
WM. M. RUST ..... Maine.	JACOB M. MUELLER.....Ohio.
FREDERICK RAINE.....Maryland.	W. T. COOK.....Oregon.
JAMES B. ESTERBROOK..Massachusetts.	W. L. DEWART.....Pennsylvania.
M. SHOEMAKER.....Michigan.	ELISHA MATHEWSON.. Rhode Island.
R. A. JONES.....Minnesota.	C. H. LUBER.....South Carolina.
W. L. KEIRNE.....Mississippi.	THOMAS L. WILLIAMS.. .Tennessee.
J. B. THOMAS.....Missouri.	L. C. ALEXANDER.....Texas.
JOHN A. HIGGINS.....Nebraska.	FRANK H. BASCOM.....Vermont.
F. LEMMON.....Nevada.	R. A. AYRES.....Virginia.
H. B. SMITH.....New Jersey.	FRANK HEREFORD.... West Virginia.
H. O. KENT.....New Hampshire.	J. R. DOOLITTLE.....Winconsin.

Your Committee recommend the following :—

#### FOR SECRETARIES.

THOMAS C. CLARK.....Alabama.	R. H. HENRY.....Mississippi.
W. L. TERRY.....Arkansas.	W. H. MAYO.....Missouri.
J. J. DRISCOLL... ..California.	A. J. RITTENHOUSE.....Nebraska.
JOHN D. MCGILVRAY.....Colorado.	R. SADLER.....Nevada.
W. H. SHIELDS.....Connecticut.	PATRICK FAHEY.....New Hampshire.
J. W. CAUSEY.....Delaware.	A. B. STONEY.....New Jersey.
E. P. DISMUKES.....Florida.	JACOB GERLING.....New York.
JOHN TRIPPLETT... ..Georgia.	E. J. HALE.....North Carolina.
WM. H. GREEN.....Illinois.	S. K. DONAVIN.....Ohio.
HERMAN FREYGANG.....Indiana.	V. R. STRODE.....Oregon.
DAN FARRELL.....Iowa.	JOSEPH K. BOGERT ....Pennsylvania.
E. A. HOLLOWELL.....Kansas.	DAVID S. BAKER, JR...Rhode Island.
W. L. CRABB.....Kentucky.	W. ST. JULIEN JERVEY.South Carolina.
W. B. MCCALL.....Louisiana.	E. C. MERRILL.....Tennessee.
RICHARD T. RUNDLETT.....Maine.	WILLIAM LAMB.....Texas.
D. W. HENNING.....Maryland.	W. A. RICHARDSON.....Vermont.
J. W. COVENEY.....Massachusetts.	HARROLD SNOWDEN.....Virginia.
A. P. SWINEFORD.....Michigan.	B. F. HARLOW.....West Virginia.
W. J. WHIPPLE.....Minnesota.	R. M. BASHFORD.....Wisconsin.

Your Committee further recommend that the Secretaries, Reading Clerks, Official Stenographer, and Sergeant-at-Arms of the temporary organization hold their respective offices under the permanent organization, and that Capt. Isaac R. Diller, of Illinois, and S. D. Clay, of Michigan, be made additional Reading Clerks. Respectfully submitted,

JAMES B. GRANT, *Chairman.*

N. B. HYATT, *Secretary.*

MR. YOUNG, of Missouri : I move the adoption of the report.

The report was adopted.

THE CHAIR : The Chair will appoint as the delegation who will act as a committee to escort the Hon. Mr. Vilas to the chair the Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, the Hon. W. W. Armstrong of Ohio, the Hon. W. H. Parsons of Georgia, the Hon. John N. Henderson of Texas, the Hon. John O'Day of Missouri, the Hon. W. A. J. Sparks of Illinois, and the Hon. Smith M. Weed of New York. The gentlemen will please assemble at the Indiana Delegation and escort the gentleman to the chair.

The Committee conducted the Chairman-elect to the platform.

THE CHAIR : Gentlemen of the Convention : I have the honor to introduce to you the Hon. W. F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, as the elected—unanimously elected—Permanent President of your body. Thanking you most kindly for the courtesy, and attention, and charity you have given me, I invoke the same for him, who will need it much less than I have needed it.

Mr. Vilas, on taking the chair, addressed the Convention as follows :

ADDRESS OF HON. WM. F. VILAS.

GENTLEMEN OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRACY : I know full well that this mark of your favor is no personal compliment, but a recognition of the young Democracy of the Northwestern States. And I claim it to be justly their due, as a tribute to their lofty zeal and patriotism, their long and gallant struggle against an outnumbering foe, and their great and growing numbers ; and I hail it as a presage and prototype of their coming triumphs. But I am proud, though honored beyond all deserving, in being selected as their representative ; and I gratefully acknowledge my obligation and render you hearty thanks for the honor you have been pleased to confer. No pledge is necessary for the continuance of their devotion. As it has hitherto been, so will it abide in the contest now at hand ; pure, unselfish, resolute and unflinching, till its great object shall be achieved in the restoration and security of upright and Constitutional government.

Fellow Delegates, you are assembled to consider a great cause, to pronounce a momentous judgment. Your hand is on the helm of

a mighty nation of free men. It is for you, by a wise and far-reaching determination, to lay its felicitous course for many future years, freighted with a vast humanity in prosperous pursuit of happiness. Fifty-five millions who are, a hundred millions who soon will be, our nation—earth's greatest, noblest free society—will rejoice in the well-considered work of this Convention. Its import and value lie not in hope of merely party victory ; in clutching the spoils of office. It is a nobler opportunity. The hour is pregnant with mighty possibilities of good to men. Constitutional liberty, strangling in the surf of corruption, injustice and favoritism, cries aloud for resuscitation, for purification and reform.

An assemblage of politicians, such as long possession of unlicensed power creates, but recently filled this hall with clamor ; and it is said to have been too well manufactured to have been the product of infant industries. They have announced their purposes ; and they claim the submission of the country as if it was theirs to command. How have they met the just expectation of this intelligent people ? Like some corporations which have flourished under their auspices, they have issued a watered stock of promises. And every one a confession ! They have promised redress only of disorders they have themselves communicated to the body politic. They proffer the infection to cure the disease. They have tendered nothing adequate or worthy to the fervent aspirations and high hopes of this patriotic and progressive people. To a country which rejoices in restored unity and concord, they tender the renewal of sectional strife. To a nation which feels the impulse of a mighty growth, and yearns for leadership in noble prosperity, they offer the inspiration of national calamity and misfortune. To a proud and sensitive people demanding deliverance from dishonoring corruption, demanding decency in seeking and cleanliness in holding their public stations, they offer the gilded arts of skillful demagoguery. To the generous ardor of youth, nobly ambitious to achieve a free man's manhood, they proffer the elevating sentiments of the party machine. To the men of toil, seeking only equal opportunity to earn a free man's livelihood, they cry, " Be your master's vellein and you shall have bread." The plan of their campaign is already made manifest—shouting, and, in common political parlance, " soap " its inspiration and ammunition. The boisterous cry of the drill sergeant, the black list for the hesitating, rewards to the willing ; these, the politician's share ; while from the ranks of those who amass the fruits from others' labor, the copious streams of pecuniary persuasion



will summon the base or sweeten sophistry to the ear of the weak and ignorant. The air already is filled with vapors of visionary schemes addressed to various interests and factions of weak and undiscerning men ; some are indulged to expect advantage from the chaotic possibilities of foreign war ; others relief or gain from legalized irruptions upon the National Treasury. The history of the Republic will have been read in vain if such a prospect do not alarm and warn us ! Twice already has liberty sunk beneath the waves of fraud and venality. She has seen her chosen servants, her chosen high priests, chosen by a majority of voters exceeding all which were cast to elect Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison—I think I might add Monroe—displaced by chicane, and her people temporarily enslaved by fraudulent usurpers of their places. She has seen a national election perverted by the stream of money which flowed from the gaping wounds at Washington. Can she rise a third time if again submerged by her enemies ?

Gentlemen, no patriot here can contemplate contemporaneous events without profound conviction that the duties of this hour rise far beyond partisanship. There is one supreme question before us : How shall we most surely rescue the Republic ? I know you will pardon me for saying it is no time for personal devotion or a personal canvass. No man has the slightest claim to our personal preferences, and no personal preference and no personal objection should weigh, as a feather even, against our resolute choice of such a ticket as will certainly unite all friends of Constitutional liberty, purity, and reform in solid array for the country.

And this sentiment now animates the expectant hope which is turned to this Convention from every quarter of this Union. A great change has been wrought in recent years in this country. Not alone in numbers, in personal and material characteristics, but also in the minds of the people, and in the composition of its political forces. We have ceased to fight in fratricidal war ; the sin of slavery has been purged, the crime of secession has been punished. Both are at an end, and the shame and sorrows of both stand in memory only as safeguards for national justice, peace and union forever. The remembered horrors of that dreadful hour of internecine conflict must stimulate suitable honors and rewards to the noble men whose lives were offered then for their country's salvation ; but this people will not go backward thither for animosity and springs of action to destroy the fruits of their labor and sacrifices. The hour of peace and concord, the embrace of friends after bitter

war, the restored joy of happy liberty and enduring union are their highest honor; the most noble chaplet that ever crowned a soldier's memory. Who tears a scar to bleed again, who fans a dying spark of enmity, strips the tenderest leaves from that laurelled wreath of glory! And doubly wicked he, who perils a nation's peace and happiness to serve by such ends a vain ambition!

The day for success in such attempts has passed. A new generation is on the scene of action—an educated and intelligent generation. They understand our institutions; they comprehend the tremendous growth and capabilities of this country, and they accept the responsibilities which have devolved upon them. Their realizing sense is keen that the welfare and progress of this people demand—have long demanded—an utter and radical change in the administration of the Government.

They have heard repeated promises of reform with each recurring election, and with disgrace and shame have witnessed each new administration discover deeper iniquities than those it promised to amend. There is a growing conviction that the one reform which will work all others, and is the condition of all, is the utter defeat of the present party in power.

And there is but one hope. It is vain to look to any new party organization. The prosperity and progress and hope of the Republic rest to-day upon the wisdom and patriotism of the Democracy now here in Convention assembled. It is adequate to the great responsibility. It is the party which brings down the traditions and represents the principles upon which this Government was founded, as the homestead of equality and liberty. It is the party of Thomas Jefferson—of James Madison—and of Andrew Jackson. As they taught and led it, it stands to-day—the party of the people—for honesty, capability, and fidelity in the public service, for strict principles of political economy in their public affairs, for encouragement of every art and industry, the development of trade and manufactures with equal justice to all. It stands as they inspired it, the party of the people, for the generous diffusion of knowledge, the elevation of every man, for common rights and equal opportunities for all; the resolute enemy of monopoly, of class favoritism, and corporate oppression; the friend of labor, the inspiration of youth, the nursery of free men. It has shared the vicissitudes, the frailties, the faults of humanity. It has profited by the “sweet uses of adversity,” and it stands forth to-day with a disciplined patriotism, fitted to invoke and receive the restoration

of that power which for half a century it wielded to the Nation's grandeur and glory. More than five millions of adult free men, a greater number than cast their ballots for Lincoln, Breckinridge, Douglas and Bell all combined, compose this patriotic aggregation. For nearly twenty years it has been recruited steadily and constantly from the upright and fearless, who, preferring the rewards of self-respect to the allurements of power, have shaken the dust from their feet and departed from the Sodom of so-called Republicanism. It has exchanged for these the venal and time-serving of its own former possession, who sought the spoils of office where they were to be found. It has received, and continually receives, new accessions who come in the same character of those we have received before ; and if there be any who cannot abide its high purposes and fortitude and ability to wait for the culmination of its principles, we are ready to continue the like exchange. It has enlisted and caught the fire of the young manhood of this Nation, and the spirit of victory rules its councils and rides in the front of its battle.

The fatality of blundering has become a Republican possession, and the doom the gods award to folly, let us pray, may be theirs. The triumph of the party of the Republic's hope cannot be longer stayed. A confident expectation may be placed in your wise deliberations. We may hope from your wisdom the first step to be taken, and to see again our Nation restored to its proper station among the powers of the earth ; to see its navy, public and commercial, again, as of yore, break the waves of every sea and spread its flag in every sky. We may hope to see the squandering of public wealth to cease, justice to take her place in our laws, regulating finance and economy. We may hope to see a Democratic people of equality and simplicity and frugality, where happiness may best be found. And as our millions multiply, and the subdued earth yields its abundant increase, while in every form art and industry employ their cheerful labor, the proudest boast of American citizenship shall rise, not from the favored son of wealth, but from the manly freeman, who returns with the evening sun from his place of honored toil to the house which is his own—where the blossoming vine and rose bespeak the fragrant happiness of the loved ones at home.

Gentlemen, in the arduous duties before me I implore your generous forbearance. I stand in greater need of your indulgent consideration by the comparison under which I must suffer with the

brilliant services of the distinguished gentleman who has just quitted this chair—with the well-deserved plaudits of this Convention. I pledge you my utmost efforts to administer my functions here with impartiality.

Mr. Morrison Munford, of Missouri, offered the following, which was read :

*“Resolved,* That it is the duty of Congress to open the lands in the Indian Territory to settlement under the Homestead and Preëmption laws, carefully guarding the rights of the Indians and turning over to them the proceeds arising from the sale of said lands.”

THE CHAIR: It goes to the Committee on Resolutions.

MR. E. M. HARBOR, of Missouri: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIR: The gentlemen will state his point.

MR. HARBOR: It was ordered a few minutes ago that all resolutions be referred without reading except by title. All of the last resolution was read by the Clerk.

THE CHAIR: The Chair had not seen the resolution referred to, and did not understand such action was to govern the Convention.

THE READING CLERK: I have been reading the titles. That read a moment ago was a title.

A DELEGATE: All title ?

THE CHAIR: Most of the resolutions are without title, and the Clerk reads the substance of them.

Mr. J. L. Sweat, of Georgia, offered a resolution relating to the surplus in the National Treasury, as follows :

*“Resolved,* That it is the sense of this Convention that the surplus in the Treasury be distributed among the several States for educational purposes according to illiteracy.”

Mr. H. M. La Rue, of California, offered a resolution in relation to public land grants to corporations, as follows :

*“Resolved,* That we demand that all grants of public lands heretofore made for the benefit of corporations which have not complied

with the conditions of the grant be immediately declared forfeited and the lands returned to the public domain, to be disposed of as other public lands are now disposed of, in reasonable quantities, to none but citizens of the United States, or persons who have declared their intention to become such, who are actual settlers there."

THE READING CLERK: By Mr. John H. Withey, of Michigan:

"Recognizing the fact that a great deal of the prosperity enjoyed by the people of the United States comes from intercommunication; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That we are in favor of extending the privileges of intercommunication to the different nations bordering on this country, and finally including the North American Continent."

MR. CHAS. H. MANSUR, of Missouri: If that rule is in force, that the resolutions are to be referred without reading, I ask that it be enforced. If it is not to be enforced let us do away with it.

THE CHAIR: I am endeavoring to enforce it, but the Reading Clerks find it a difficult thing to find the title, and try to summarize the resolutions.

THE READING CLERK: By Mr. Sowden, of Pennsylvania:

"*Resolved*, That we expedite the business of this Convention by now calling the roll of States and placing in nomination candidates of the respective States for the nomination for the office of the Presidency of the United States."

MR. SOWDEN: I call for the second reading of the resolution.

The resolution was again read by the Reading Clerk.

MR. SOWDEN: I call for the immediate consideration of the resolution just read.

MR. G. V. MENZIES, of Indiana: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIR: Gentleman will state his point.

MR. MENZIES: The point I make is, that the motion is not in order before the Committee on Resolutions report.

THE CHAIR: The point of order must be overruled. The order of the Convention is at its own disposal.

MR. T. J. CLUNIE, of California: Mr. Chairman, I move, as a substitute for the motion, that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Platform and Resolutions. I do not think it advisable to go into the nomination of a President until we get a platform and resolutions.

MR. JOHN D. MCGILVRAY, of Colorado: I desire to offer a reso-



lution that the further consideration of the resolution be temporarily postponed.

MR. CHARLES H. MANSUR, of Missouri: Mr. Chairman: I rise to make a motion that I think is always in order. We have reached a point in the deliberations of this Convention at which I think we had better deliberate, and I have never known a National Convention or heard of one where men were placed in nomination before we understood the principles of the platform upon which they were to be placed; and now that your Committee on Resolutions has been granted until to-morrow to report, I move that we adjourn until 11 o'clock to-morrow.

A DELEGATE: Mr. Chairman, upon the motion of the gentleman from Missouri I demand the call of the States.

THE CHAIR: The call of the States is demanded upon the motion of the gentleman from Missouri that we adjourn until to-morrow. No debate is in order. The question is, Shall a call of the States be ordered?

The question being submitted, the motion to adjourn was declared lost.

THE CHAIR: Resolutions are offered; the Clerk will read them.

The Reading Clerk again read the resolution of Mr. W. H. Sowden, of Pennsylvania.

Also a resolution from L. J. Rose, of California, in relation to the growing industry of viticulture.

*Resolved*, That the beautiful and growing industry of viticulture, making many beautiful homes and giving employment to a large and worthy class of citizens, is worthy of fostering care, and should be protected against all adulterations and imitation."

Also by Mr. Wm. Harrigan, of New Jersey, that the Convention will not accept the nomination of any man who is known to be against the interests of the laboring classes.

MR. G. V. MENZIES, of Indiana: Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the question before the Convention is upon the resolution offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Sowden].

THE CHAIR: The gentleman's point of order is right. The question is upon the resolution of the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

MR. MENZIES: Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of inquiry. When a call of States has been demanded, is it not a matter of right that it is not to be voted down by a *viva voce* vote of the Convention? There was a demand for the call of the States upon the motion to adjourn. That was a matter of right not to be voted down by *viva voce* vote.

THE CHAIR: The point of order is overruled.

MR. JOHN D. MCGILVRAY, of Colorado: Mr. President, I desire the permission of this Convention to withdraw my motion to temporarily postpone the resolution and offer a motion to lay upon the table.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Colorado asks leave to withdraw his motion to temporarily postpone the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania to proceed to the nomination of candidates. Unless objection is made leave is given.

MR. MCGILVRAY, of Colorado: I move you now that the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania be laid upon the table, and I call for the roll of the States.

MR. CLUNIE, of California: The only way to get a correct vote is to call the roll of the States. In any other way the audience in the galleries votes, and everybody votes.

THE CHAIR: The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Colorado to lay upon the table the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania. A call of the States is asked for and ordered.

MR. HARRINGTON, of Missouri: Will the Chair please state the question?

THE CHAIR: The Chair is asked to state what the question is, and the effect of this vote. I will state it. The gentleman from Pennsylvania moves that we do now proceed to a call of the States to hear the nominations of candidates for the office of President. The gentleman from Colorado moves that that motion be laid upon the table. A vote "aye" lays the motion on the table. The Clerk will now call the roll. As soon as the collection of the votes of the States is complete, gentlemen will please take their seats.

The roll of the States was then called; when the vote of New York was called Mr. Daniel Manning, Chairman of the Delegation, announced 72 "no."

Mr. GRADY, of New York: I hold in my hand the official——

THE CHAIR: The gentleman is not in order.

Mr. GRADY: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman is not in order. The call of the States is in progress and it must proceed to a conclusion.

Mr. GRADY: I challenge the count and offer the official tally taken by one of the official tellers. I hold in my hand the official tally made by one of the tellers.

THE CHAIR: The challenge of the vote of any State will not interrupt the call. Proceed with the call.

Mr. CLUNIE: I rise for information——

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from California.

Mr. CLUNIE: I want to know if a man has not a right to have his State called by the individual members if his vote is announced wrong? I want the Chair to decide on that.

THE CHAIR: No challenge of the vote of a State will be entertained by the Chair until the conclusion of the call.

T. M. WALLER, of Connecticut: Mr. Chairman, I rise to a question of privilege and the question of privilege is this: If in this great Democratic Convention there is not authority enough and power enough to let men express their sentiments without being hissed by spectators. The question of privilege, sir, is this: That the Chairman of this Convention ought to instruct the ushers and men in authority that when any spectator undertakes to show his disapproval of any sentiment or of any person in this Convention, he should be ejected.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Connecticut raises a question of privilege which the Chair is disposed to uphold. It cannot be tolerated in the progress of this Convention that the spectators shall interrupt the harmonious and orderly procedure of it. The Sergeant-at-Arms is directed to remove any person who violates the order. The Chair recognized the gentleman from New York—Mr. Grady—but the Chair declined to interrupt the call of the States as announced by the Chairman until the roll is complete. The call of the roll will proceed.

The call of the States was then completed.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from New York (Mr. Grady) rose to challenge the vote of that State. He will state the ground of challenge.

MR. THOMAS H. SHERLEY, of Kentucky: Mr. Chairman, the State of Kentucky wants to change its vote.

THE CHAIR: I will now recognize the gentleman from New York; and the gentlemen from Kentucky (Mr. Sherley) will be in order after that.

MR. GRADY, of New York: I hold in my hand the official tally of the vote of the Delegation from the State of New York, nineteen voting in the affirmative and forty-nine voting in the negative, and four of the Delegates not being present in the Convention. I ask that the vote be recorded as cast.

THE CHAIR: The Chairman of the Delegation from New York will again state the vote of that State.

MR. DANIEL MANNING, of New York: New York votes seventy-two noes.

THE CHAIR: The challenge of the gentleman from New York (Mr. Grady) the Chair is unable to recognize as valid upon the facts he states; because, as it has been announced to this Convention, and so far approved, New York votes under the instruction of her Convention as a unit upon all questions. The gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Sherley) has the floor.

MR. SHERLEY: I am instructed by this Delegation to change the vote of Kentucky.

THE CHAIR: Kentucky asks leave to change her vote. It will be considered given unless objection is heard.

THE READING CLERK: Kentucky changes her vote as follows:

MR. SHERLEY: Kentucky votes no 2 and aye 24.

The vote had been originally announced as 23 ayes and 1 no.

MR. DENNIS SPENCER, of California: I am instructed to change the vote of California to 15 ayes and 1 no.

The vote had been originally announced as 16 ayes.

THE CHAIR: California asks leave to change her vote, and it will be granted unless objection is heard.

There was no objection.

THE READING CLERK: How did you vote?

MR. SPENCER: We voted 16 ayes; and now we change it to 15 ayes and 1 no.

THE SECRETARY: California changes one vote aye to no.

G. W. GLICK, of Kansas: Kansas desires to change her vote.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Kansas asks leave to change her vote. Leave will be given unless objection is heard.

MR. GLICK: Five votes aye.

THE SECRETARY: How did you vote?

MR. GLICK: Just the reverse; 5 ayes and 13 noes.

The vote had originally been announced as 13 ayes and 5 noes.

GEN. E. S. BRAGG, of Wisconsin: Wisconsin desires to change her vote, so that the vote of Wisconsin will stand 2 ayes and 20 noes.

The vote had been originally announced as 22 noes. There being no objection, the change was made.

There being no further changes the Reading Clerk announced the result as follows:

Total vote cast.....	804
Ayes .....	281
Noes.....	523
Not voting.....	16
Majority against.....	242

THE CHAIR: The motion to lay on the table is lost.

The following is the vote in detail:



## THE VOTE BY STATES.

<i>State.</i>	<i>Yeas. Nays.</i>		<i>State.</i>	<i>Yeas. Nays.</i>	
Alabama.....	1	19	New York.....	72	
Arkansas.....	..	14	North Carolina.....	22	
California.....	15	1	Ohio.....	19	24
Colorado.....	6	..	Oregon.....	5	1
Connecticut.....	..	12	Pennsylvania.....	24	35
Delaware.....	6	..	Rhode Island.....	1	7
Florida.....	..	8	South Carolina.....	11	7
Georgia.....	8	16	Tennessee.....	23	1
Illinois.....	17	26	Texas.....	14	12
Indiana.....	30	..	Vermont.....	..	8
Iowa.....	..	26	Virginia.....	..	24
Kansas.....	5	13	West Virginia.....	2	10
Kentucky.....	24	2	Wisconsin.....	2	20
Louisiana.....	..	16	Arizona.....	..	2
Maine.....	3	8	District of Columbia.....	..	2
Maryland.....	..	16	Dakota.....	2	..
Massachusetts.....	6	13	Idaho.....	..	2
Michigan.....	..	26	Montana.....	..	2
Minnesota.....	14	..	New Mexico.....	..	2
Mississippi.....	11	7	Utah.....	2	..
Missouri.....	7	25	Washington.....	..	2
Nebraska.....	1	8	Wyoming.....	2	..
Nevada.....	6	..			
New Hampshire.....	..	8			
New Jersey.....	14	4	TOTAL.....	281	523

MR. G. V. MENZIES, of Indiana: Does the question not recur now upon the original proposition?

THE CHAIR: Certainly.

MR. MENZIES: Upon that we demand a call of the States.

MR. M. F. TARPEY, of California: I desire to offer an amendment to the original motion, and I demand a call of the States upon that amendment.

MR. EDGAR M. HARBER, of Missouri: I rise to a point of order. The question recurs upon the original motion.

MR. J. H. BUDD, of California: The previous question has not been ordered yet.

THE CHAIR: The amendment of the gentleman from California will be read.

THE READING CLERK: It is proposed to amend by adding to the resolution the following:

"But no vote shall be taken on the nomination for President until after the platform is adopted."

MR. SOWDEN, of Pennsylvania: Mr. Chairman, I most heartily accept the amendment of the gentleman.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Sowden) accepts the amendment.

MR. MENZIES, of Indiana: I withdraw the call, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIR: The question, then, is upon the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania as amended by the gentleman from California—that we now proceed to a call of the States for nomination of candidates for President, but that no vote be taken until after the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

This resolution was adopted.

MR. M. F. TARPEY, of California: Mr. Chairman: My amendment was not read in full. I put in that amendment a call for a call of the States, which was not read.

THE CHAIR: The amendment was accepted and has prevailed.

MR. HARRISON, of Illinois: I move that this Convention do now adjourn until 7 o'clock this evening.

MR. TARPEY: I second the motion, and we demand a call of the States upon that question.

THE CHAIR: The gentlemen from Illinois (Mr. Harrison) moves that the Convention do now adjourn until 7 o'clock this evening.

MR. T. P. FENLON, of Kansas: I desire to offer an amendment that we adjourn until 11 o'clock to-morrow. The members of the Committee on Resolutions desire to be present when the nominations are made.

THE CHAIR: The motion is not in order, as the house has just voted that down. A call of the States is demanded; is that insisted upon?

MR. TARPEY: Yes, sir, we insist upon that.

THE CHAIR: Is the call of the States seconded?

A DELEGATE: Yes, sir; I second it.

THE CHAIR: A call for the vote of the States is demanded and seconded, and will be ordered. The question is upon the motion to adjourn until 7 o'clock this evening, and a vote "aye" is in favor of adjournment. The Convention will please be in order as soon as possible.

MR. FENLON: The gentlemen from Illinois offered a resolution that we adjourn until 7 o'clock this evening. I offered an amendment to change the time until 11 o'clock to-morrow. I insist that my amendment is in order, and is debatable, and I demand the floor for a moment on that. I am a member of the Committee on Resolutions. A sub-committee is now in session, composed of the most eminent men in this body, who desire to be here.

THE CHAIR: The gentlemen is not in order.

MR. FENLON: Then I will sit down.

MR. HARRISON: Mr Chairman: If the Convention will consent, as it was my desire not to waste time, I withdrew the motion to adjourn until 7 o'clock.

THE CHAIR: The gentlemen from Illinois, with the consent of the Convention, withdraws his motion.

MR. TARPEY: We object.

MR. LA RUE, of California: I seconded the gentlemen's motion that we adjourn until to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock. The Chairman put it to the vote; other business has since intervened, and it is certainly in order now to amend the motion.

MR. FENLON: Mr. Chairman, I desire to be heard a moment if I am in order.

MR. LA RUE: The gentlemen moved that the Convention adjourn until this evening at 7 o'clock. A motion was made amending the motion, that we adjourn until to-morrow at 11 o'clock. If such a motion had been made, and other business intervened, another motion to adjourn is always in order.

THE CHAIR: The Chair is still of the opinion that he is right, and that the gentlemen cannot renew a motion for adjournment to the same hour.

MR. LA RUE: Then I will make it half past 11.

THE CHAIR: The question is upon the motion of the gentleman from Illinois to adjourn until 7 o'clock to-night.

This motion was lost.

MR. MCGILVRAY, of Colorado: I move you now that this Convention do adjourn until half-past 10 o'clock to-morrow.

The motion was put and declared lost.

MR. TARPEY, of California: I desire to state that the Chair had

ordered a call of States upon the motion, and subsequently put it *viva voce*.

THE CHAIR: I think you are mistaken.

A Delegate from Missouri moved that the Convention adjourn until 8 o'clock in the evening. The Chairman put the question and it was lost.

MR. FENLON, of Kansas: I move that the Convention adjourn until 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

This motion was lost.

HON. LEON ABBETT, of New Jersey: Mr. President, motions are put by the Chair amid such confusion that Delegates at this end of the hall cannot hear them. It is no deliberative body that has motions put and carried when Delegates have no opportunity to hear what the motion is, and I ask the Chair to preserve order in this Convention so that we can hear. Delegates at this end of the hall have not been able to hear half the motions that have been put in the last ten minutes.

MR. MENZIES, of Indiana: I rise to a point of order, that the galleries are voting on these motions to adjourn, and for that reason Delegates are calling for a call of the States to prevent the galleries from deciding motions here. The Chair seems not to hear the demand for a call of the States. We demand it as a right.

THE CHAIR: The Chair has been very careful to observe that the galleries have not voted on these questions.

GEN. BRAGG, of Wisconsin: I rise to a question. Can any individual Delegate to this Convention demand a call of the States, and can any individual Delegate second that call, and will we put upon this Convention the necessity of calling the roll time after time as it may occur to any one or two individuals in the Convention it ought to be called, or must not the call of the States come from a State, and be seconded at least by a State before it shall be entertained by the Chair?

THE CHAIR: The Chair has so governed his action.

MR. CULLERTON, of Illinois: I move the previous question.

THE CHAIR: The motion is not in order.

MR. CULLERTON: What is the motion before the house?

THE CHAIR: The Convention has adopted an order of business,

and will now proceed to execute it. The call of the States for nominations of candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency will now proceed.

The Secretary then proceeded with the call of States for nominations. California being called, the Chairman of the Delegation (Mr. Spencer) arose and said :

MR. PRESIDENT : The State of California will have to ask the indulgence of the Convention. We have a name to present—a nomination—and the gentleman who is to present his name is temporarily absent. We ask that the State be passed for future nomination.

The Secretary called to Delaware.

MR. E. L. MARTIN, of Delaware : Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIR : The Chair would invite the gentleman from Delaware to proceed.

MR. MARTIN, of Delaware : The State of Delaware desires to present before this Convention one of its Delegates, the Hon. George Gray, and asks that he may be heard by the Convention.

Mr. Gray came to the platform.

THE CHAIR : Mr. Gray, of Delaware.

#### ADDRESS OF HON. GEORGE GRAY, OF DELAWARE.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION : I am instructed to present to you the name of a man worthy to receive the nomination for the exalted station of President of these United States. I do so, Mr. President and gentlemen, with a deep and realizing sense of the great responsibility that rests upon this Convention and upon every member of it to so act that the great opportunity that God himself, we reverently believe, has given us may not pass away unimproved ; to so act that the dawning brightness that illumines our horizon may not be darkened, but may grow and increase into the noonday splendor of victory in November. The career of the Republican party, marked as it has been by a reckless disregard of every Constitutional restraint and every dear right that belongs to the people, fittingly culminated in a candidate and a platform that were made and declared in this hall a little more than a month ago. That nomination has flung defiance in the face of



American manhood and has revolted the conscience of the best men of the party whose nomination it is, and such a nomination, gentlemen, is a sign of the decadence of a great party, not a sign of its increasing strenth.

Now, gentlemen, the Democracy of this great country demands that you shall give them as a standard-bearer in the impending contest one who has been tried in the balance and never found wanting. It demands a statesman whose wisdom and experience are known of all men. It demands a leader whose chivalrous courage will never falter, and who can and will bring to the dust the plumed knights of false pretences and personal dishonor. It demands a man of high and stainless honor, who will strike corruption whenever and wherever it shows its head. It demands a man with a national record that will bear the electric light of hostile criticism. It demands a man with a private character that will defy the malignant tongue of slander. The Democrats of these United States, in a word, demand a man who shall in his public and private character be the very antithesis and opposite of the nominee of the Republican party. Gentlemen, I speak from my heart, I know, but I do not believe that you will think that my affections have altogether taken possession of my head when I say that the man who is all this and more, and whose name I know is now leaping from your hearts to your lips, is Thomas Francis Bayard of Delaware. Why, gentlemen, this Republic, this dear country of ours, was reared by such men as he. And the Democratic party will always point with boundless pride to his spotless name and his magnificent career. Who, I ask, has defended that great palladium of our liberties, the rights of the States, more valiantly than he? Who has stood with more dauntless courage to resist the insolent assertion of arbitrary power that would have governed some of the fairest States of this Union by military satraps? When did his voice ever fail, on any great question that concerned the interests or honor of his country, to utter words of wisest counsel or to combat what he knew to be false?

How can you afford, gentlemen of the Democratic party, to pass him by? What account will you give to the Democracy who sent you here if you shall fail to meet the challenge of our opponents by failing to blazon his name upon our banners? What will you say to the people of all this great land who are now anxiously looking to the deliberations of this Convention, and waiting to see the lightning of heaven flash to the uttermost corners of this

Union that name which shall be a watchword in the battle for honest and pure government?

Gentlemen of the Convention, with Bayard as your candidate we will make no mistake. His name will still the voice of faction and close up the ranks of the Democracy in every State. He will carry every doubtful State and he will make those States doubtful that never were so before. Enthusiasm will take the place of apathy, and will grow and still grow as the Autumn leaves are falling, until the drear November is made bright and glorious by the pæons of our victory.

MR. MENZIES, of Indiana: Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Indiana, Mr. Menzies, has the floor.

MR. MENZIES: Mr. Chairman, the Indiana Delegation has requested the Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks to present the name of Indiana's candidate for the Presidency.

THE CHAIR: You will best testify the exalted respect we all feel for the gentleman from Indiana by aiding him in his task with your profound silence. I have the honor to present Gov. Hendricks, who will make a nomination on behalf of the State of Indiana.

ADDRESS OF HON. THOMAS A. HENDRICKS, OF INDIANA.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: This is my first experience as a Delegate in a National Convention, and as I rise to present the name of a distinguished citizen of Indiana for your consideration in connection with the office of President of the United States, I feel the delicacy and the great responsibility of the duty I have undertaken. The people now demand a change in the management of Federal affairs, and if this Convention will but give them half an opportunity they will execute that purpose in the election of a President in the coming Fall. I believe that the nominee of this Convention will soon become the chosen President of the United States. He will be the first inaugurated Democratic President of the United States in twenty-four years. He will come in burdened with all the duties that usually belong to that high office, and in addition, with such duties and delicate responsibilities as belong to the transfer of public affairs from the representatives of one party to the representatives of another after long control by the latter. May I ask your attention while I briefly refer to some of the labors and respon-

sibilities that will require courage, talent and strength on the part of the next President of the United States?

The Constitution imposes upon the President the duty of making such recommendations to Congress of such measures as he shall deem important and necessary. How delicate and important that duty becomes. The President is clothed with this authority by the Constitution. The Constitution imposing it upon him, Congress will heed his recommendations with great care. When Congress convened last December the revenues were annually accumulating in excess of the demands of economical government at the rate of fully fifty millions a year, and that, too, under a revenue system that had been adjusted within one year by the Republican party. When accumulated gold overflows the vaults of the Treasury and tempts to extravagant, wasteful, and sometimes corrupt legislation, who can question that revenue reform is the first duty of a successful party, and if the Democratic House had been reënforced by a President in harmony with it, recommending a well-considered measure of revenue reform, eliminating the vices that nestle in existing laws, and reducing very largely the amount of the revenues, does any man doubt that now there would have been a great relief from the burden of excessive taxation, and that we would have had a system of revenue resting upon justice and fair play? Foremost among the duties and obligations which this great Convention will admonish its nominee to represent is that the laws be executed, but also that the public expenditures be greatly reduced.

Shall the vast standing army of 120 regiments continue under Democratic rule? At the close of the War, I believe, 60,000 were found sufficient to execute the civil service. As a matter of course, that may be received with doubt by some, and it would not excite our special wonder, but when from 60,000 in the course of twenty years it shall advance to 120,000, it bids the Democracy pause. Supernumeraries must be dismissed and unnecessary employments discontinued; and in this connection may I not say that the people whom you represent will stand like a stone wall beside the next President in his endeavors to promote economy and general reform?

Eight years ago our party declared at St. Louis that "reform is necessary in the civil service," and it demanded a change of system, a change of administration, and a change of party, that we may have a change of measures and of men. The experience of every year has since confirmed that declaration and strengthened the demand.

It is but two weeks ago that a Secretary stood upon the witness stand in the presence of a Senate Committee to bear testimony to the reproach of one of the bureaus in his own department. It was in the Department of Medicine and Surgery, and that Secretary said that the false vouchers, he supposed, did not exceed \$63,000.

In former times, when the sensibilities of the people became offended by official corruption, they themselves undertook the work of reform. I dare say many of you bear it in memory that an entire Administration went down, and for the time being the party went with it, because of a defalcation or embezzlement of \$62,000. That was but forty years ago, and that was the only case that occurred of a defalcation during that Administration. Yet so fearful was the punishment by the people that the party went from power for the time being. Who expects that a party long in power, with all the emoluments of public position received and enjoyed by its followers and retainers, can reform itself? The recent case to which I have referred is very instructive. In that testimony the Secretary said that a year ago he had received a letter informing him of the misconduct of one of the employees, and that but very recently he had been told of two others engaged in nefarious transactions, but, he said to the committee, so earnest was the pressure, especially of members of Congress, for the reappointment of the head of the bureau that he could not believe it possible that his bureau was in the condition in which he found it at last. The offenses against the public service are numerous—many of them flagrant. They must be pursued to their hiding-places. They must be brought forth, exposed, and punished, and the agents that the President shall employ—I mean the new President that you are to nominate here—the agents that he shall employ must have none to shield, nothing to conceal. Let fidelity and competency once more on the part of the employees, and justice and fair play, so far as the people of the country are concerned, be observed, and reforms will follow.

I hope never again to see the cruel and remorseless proscription for political opinions which has disgraced recent Administrations. But, bad as the civil service is, I know that there are men of tried fidelity in it. I know that there are men of ability in the present service, and I would not ask that they should be driven from office; but none but such ought to be continued. In the language of a writer, "When we come to define the rights of the outs and those that are in, let it be understood that none but the fittest shall survive."



Now, Mr. President, I hope the new Administration will hold itself instructed by the sentiment of 1876, in opposition to centralization and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidation in one, and thus creates, whatever the form of Government, a real despotism.

I have, Mr. President and gentlemen, but one other sentiment to refer to, before I shall call your attention to the claims which I propose to suggest for a man that I will name. And in respect to this sentiment no one is responsible but myself. Will nations never devise a more rational umpire of differences than force? Must blood and treasure always flow before international controversies can be settled? Controversies will arise; they are inevitable; but the civilization of this age demands that they be referred to the disinterested States for settlement by friendly arbitration. The intervening ocean protects our young Republic from the menace of European arms. It will be a beautiful spectacle if this Republic, so strong and so secure, shall lead the nations in a movement for permanent peace, and the relief of the people everywhere from the maintenance of standing armies and ships of war. The best act of Gen. Grant's Administration was the settlement by arbitration of the controversies touching the *Alabama*. That settlement stands in bright and glorious contrast in our history to the use that he himself made of our own army when he beleaguered the Capital that men might have offices to which they were never elected.

Mr. President and gentlemen, I have to suggest for your consideration a citizen of the State of Indiana, the Hon. Joseph E. McDonald. I thank you all for the reception which you have given to his name. Born in an adjoining State, Indiana became his home when but a boy. He learned a trade, and thus made himself independent and very respectable. And after that he pursued his studies with such opportunities as he had, and finally prepared himself for the great profession of the law. And from the time that he took his stand in the court house of his country until the present, when he may stand, it may be, in the Supreme Court of the United States, he has been the peer of the best of that profession in the West. First selected by the district in which he lives to prosecute the pleas of the State; afterwards chosen by the State to represent her as Attorney-General; next—not next to that, but before that,—he went, from his own district in which he was raised from boyhood, up to the Congress of the United States. And afterwards the people of the whole State sent him as Senator to Wash-



ington. Faithfully, diligently, ably for six years he represented Indiana in the Senate. And he was welcomed by the ablest of the Senators as their peer.

Mr. McDonald has been a student of the learning that has made the Democracy of the United States what it is to-day. He is familiar with the writings of the fathers; and his opinions are based upon the sentiments that came to him from their pages. He is of clear perception, of strong judgment, of earnest convictions, fair-minded and just. No man who will have occasion to go to the White House when he shall be the President, if you shall honor him with your nomination—no man will have occasion to find fault with the candid and frank manner of his reception.

Gentlemen of the Convention, I do not speak for Mr. McDonald alone; I do not speak for myself alone; I do not speak alone for these thirty gentlemen that have directed me to stand here and speak for them; I speak for a mighty State. Some ten days ago a Democracy that never steps backward, a Democracy that meets the contest when and where it may come, instructed these thirty gentlemen and myself to say to you that Joseph E. McDonald is worthy of your consideration as the candidate for President of the United States. And what is Indiana, and what is the Democracy of Indiana? This mighty State, that is neither of the East nor yet of the West, but sitting midway between the East and the West, resting upon the Ohio, associating in commerce, in trade, and in good neighborhood with the adjoining States, this great State has said to us: "Present the name of Mr. McDonald to the greatest Convention the world has ever seen." And for Indiana I make my appeal to you to-day. What greeting will you give to Indiana? For twenty-five years, during which I have had some responsible connection with that great party, she has been without strife or discord in her ranks. She has stood always as one man, and when the election-days have come the tread of her Democracy has been as the tread of one regiment when the hour of battle is at hand. You know very well, gentlemen, that Indiana makes no question whether your candidate shall live in New York or Delaware, or Kentucky; you know very well that when the crisis comes Indiana will give him her vote. But I want to know, are you going to make it against Indiana because she is so faithful, because she will not hesitate? Are you to say, from election to election, from Convention to Convention, "We need not trouble about that solid State; she is all right; her vote will go well at the election; we must take care

—and just by way of illustration—we must take care of New York?” Is that where, as the representatives of the Democracy of Indiana, these thirty gentlemen and myself have to stand in your presence? We ask, not a favor, because Indiana is true always; but we ask that that shall not come in judgment against us. When many of your States did hesitate, when the War had passed, and the smoke of the battle had gone away and the sound of guns upon the plains and among the mountains had ceased, and you struggled, and we struggled, Indiana was the first State to carry the banner of Democracy in triumph to Victory.

And now, gentlemen, a man of good attainments and high character, indorsed by a mighty State, I present his name to you, and all that I ask is justice. The humblest of us all may ask that much; and when it shall come to be that in a Democratic Convention justice may not be asked, then perhaps, I will better renew the practice of the past, and not come to Conventions at all. I thank you, my brother Democrats, I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the attention that you have given me while I have spoken for a friend.

MR. J. B. MANN, of Illinois: Mr. Chairman, in the call of the roll of States Illinois has been passed, but I ask that the privilege of seconding the nomination of Joseph E. McDonald—that the privilege of seconding this nomination—be accorded to Illinois' gallant citizen and soldier, Gen. John C. Black.

THE CHAIR: The State of Illinois, having been passed, asks leave to be called now to second the nomination by her citizen, Gen. Black. No objection being heard Gen. Black will proceed.

ADDRESS OF GEN. JOHN C. BLACK, OF ILLINOIS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND FELLOW DELEGATES: It is my high honor to second the nomination, made on behalf of the State of Indiana, of Joseph E. McDonald. We, fellow Delegates, to whom I address my remarks, must go from this vast Convention into the presence of an actual struggle, one compared with which this is but a single leaf upon a mighty tree; and in that mightier presence of the whole American people we must maintain our cause for the benefit of good government. The enthusiasm here exhibited, Mr. Chairman, will avail but little with the 55,000,000 who stand outside these walls unless we present to them the best of causes and the best of men. By our Platform we will appeal to the sober judgment of the people for the justness of our cause and challenge

denial of any of its assertions. We need for a leader a man whose antecedents and record, known and read of all, in and of themselves, will constitute and contain satisfactory answer to all reasonable objections. We need a man whose views upon all public questions now at issue can be found without a search-warrant and determined without an inquisition. We need a man who is known to be in favor of the great public policies which we advocate, and which we know lie at the foundation of our stability, prosperity, honor and glory as a free people.

Joseph E. McDonald is such a man. For twenty-five years in public life, as jurist, leader and statesman, he has made his mark on his age by the steadfast performance of his duty.

In behalf of the business interests of the land he favored the remonetization of silver and thus unlocked the wealth of the West and poured its full volume into the wasting veins of public prosperity. You men of California, and of Oregon, and the Far West, when it was sought by the cooley-contract system to crowd our free toilers out of the mines and fields of California, he helped to close the golden gates of the Pacific against the incoming hordes, and kept the Far West free from servile invasion. He has resisted the lavish expenditures of the public moneys. He has borne a conspicuous part in the effort to reform the mode and correct the amount and diminish the sum of Federal taxation, believing in the Constitutional declaration that the Congress of the United States can only raise moneys for the public needs, having no power to grant subsidies or bestow bounties. In his State, as in the Nation at large he has as firmly resisted all encroachments upon the vast body of rights reserved to the people by themselves and known by them in two words, "Personal Liberty"; words as sweet as ever fell from the lips of free men, and dreadful to the ears of tyrant, schemer and fanatic.

Thus we present him to you. Wise legislator, true financier, brave statesman, his record glitters with the stars of truth, and all may see its glory, and every star is a Democratic star, and all the glories are those of the people. What would you more? Do you demand success? He wrested his State from the calamitous fall of 1880, and in two years made it 10,000 Democratic. And to-day, with unanimous voice by the tongue of the ex-Vice-President of the United States, she asks for his nomination. Do you require courage, fellow Delegates, here is a man whom the blandishments of party have never swerved from the truth, and who in the face of

all temptation stood for the right as he believed it against all the waves of popular demand, stood like a rock, immovable, the image of the Scripture verified in him, silver and gold for his foundation, the money approved by the original Democratic creed. And when treason, Republican treason, in 1876 lay hold upon the pillars of the State and shook the fabric to its base, no hand more steadfast than his was raised in its support.

The voice of labor calls loudly to you for representation. Its organized hosts are at your doors. Its advocates stand in your midst and all around you. Its giant power tenders allegiance. Fellow Democrats, a million of voters wait your action here. This man toiled for years with his hands for his daily bread before achieving by his unaided efforts prosperity and power. He knew, and he now remembers, the passionate prayer and heart-deep need of the countless masses that their rights be preserved and perpetuated. He is the child of toil, a strong son of the people, and their blood fills his right arm with life and power for their service. That makes him strong enough, and his arm long enough, to pluck the knotted plumes from the brow of corruption and tear from the form of venal officialism and rascality the mantle of fraud. He is a leader who has no factions to conciliate, none to conquer. At his call every Democrat will gladly prepare for action, every Democratic column will move upon the field, every Democratic banner be full high advanced and stream against the common foe to victory. He will have to call no councils of war to make peace with rebellious chiefs. He represents the total, harmonious mass of his party. From among many honored leaders we present him to you first among his peers.

Fellow Democrats of the East, for twenty years we have committed the ensign of leadership into your hands, and those of your chosen sons. For twenty years, never dishonored, it has rested upon the verge of victory. For twenty years we have rallied at your call, and the bugle blast of your Eastern chieftain was always potent to summon the hosts of Democracy from all this broad region. From our West, Oh, men of the East, we have gained State after State—a mighty Democratic train. See where we have set the Democratic banner—in almost every fastness of Republicanism in the Northwest. So long as patriotism demands it, and the voice of our Conventions enjoins it, we will still follow you steadfast and true; but if you will, for this year, support this brave, true Western Democrat, we promise you victory.

MR. DENNIS SPENCER, of California : When California was called she said she had a candidate to present, but at that time the gentleman who was to present the candidate was temporarily absent, owing to a slight sickness. He is now present, and we would ask the privilege of allowing California to name her candidate.

THE CHAIR : The Chair hearing no objection, the privilege will be accorded. California is considered as called.

MR. SPENCER : The Delegates have decided that the Hon. John W. Breckinridge shall present the name of the candidate.

THE CHAIR : Gentlemen of the Convention : The Hon. John W. Breckinridge, son of the last Democratic Vice-President who was *not* unjustly deprived of his office, will now address the Convention as the representative of California.

ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN W. BRECKINRIDGE, OF CALIFORNIA.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION : By inadvertence, California was passed in this Democratic Convention ; but we desire to say to you that when the ballots are cast in November next she will never be passed by a Republican candidate. She has sent us here, her representatives, in few and simple words to present for the consideration of the Democratic party a man who needs no eulogy at her hands, whose name is enshrined in the hearts of the whole American people. She has asked us to present for your consideration a man who, if you nominate him, we believe there is a settled conviction in the hearts of all will be the next President of the United States. Such a selection is a sacred trust and a solemn responsibility. There never was in the history of the party a rarer or a grander opportunity to make an appeal to the country. Let us present a man of whose integrity and devotion to principle there has never been a question, upon whose character and reputation there has never fallen the imperceptible shadow of blot or stain ; whose ability and learning shall be commensurate with the duties of the high office to which we would elevate him—let us nominate such a one, place him side by side with his antithesis, the Plumed Knight of Maine, and simply say to the American people, “Behold the men !”

Gentlemen of this Convention, we of California believe that we can confidently turn and say, “Behold the man—Allen G. Thur-



man, of Ohio!" Of all the honored and illustrious names which have been and shall be presented for the consideration of this Convention there are none which lie nearer to the great heart of the American people than that lofty and intrepid statesman who for more than twenty years has been the boldest and the ablest advocate of Democratic doctrine and Democratic principle.

California did not send us here to waste our time in eulogy—simply to present his name. But one word more, and it is this: We are told, sir—and it is the only objection which has been raised to him—this man at the close of the war, when the echoes of that strife were still vibrating in the air, annihilated in the great State of Ohio a Republican majority of nearly 40,000 votes—we are told as the only objection to him that Ohio is an October State; and our reply is, gentlemen, that this is not a State but a National Convention, and we are here to select a national candidate.

GEN. A. J. WARNER, of Ohio: Mr. President, Ohio has not been called, but I ask that the nomination which has just been made may be seconded at this time by Gen. Ward, of Ohio.

THE CHAIR: It can be done only by unanimous consent. The Chair hearing no objection, the application is allowed.

THE CHAIR: The Convention will listen to Gen. Durbin Ward, of Ohio.

#### ADDRESS OF GEN. DURBIN WARD, OF OHIO.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: If there were nothing else to inspire me, this sea of upturned, honest faces, would be enough to give me courage to speak in this presence. I came here as a Delegate from the State of Ohio, a Delegate-at-large, representing, I verily believe, the great majority of the Democratic party of that State, to second the nomination of Allen G. Thurman. Allen G. Thurman is not a name unknown to you. For a quarter of a century he has stood foremost in the ranks of that great party which has preserved the Constitutional liberties of this country. Ohio is the gateway between the East and the West. She has had many great citizens, living and dead. She has had a President, Chief Justices—all the grand offices of the Republic have, at one time or another, Mr. President, been awarded to the citizens of the State of Ohio. And I can proudly say, in seconding the nomination of Allen G. Thurman, that no prouder name appears in the

annals of Ohio, and no prouder name appears in the annals of the United States.

Gentlemen, Ohio is the battle-ground of this Presidential election—make what you will of it. You can win without it, but if you carry that State in October the battle is already won, and you need go no further.

Mr. President, and gentlemen of this Convention, I came here with unstudied words, having had no opportunity whatever to make the least preparation, but when a Senator who served twelve years in the Congress of the United States, a gentleman who was a great lawyer and a ripe jurist when he entered that body, and while he was there—without any disrespect to anybody else—whenever a stranger was called on to point out a great man on the floor of the Senate of the United States invariably he pointed to Allen G. Thurman who carried his red bandanna handkerchief. Gentlemen, we are entering upon the battle. The war is on. You want no plumed knight, panoplied in holiday armor, to take a tilt in the tournament for his fair lady's braid of hair, but you want an Ajax, with helmet and spear, to thunder along the line and deal death-giving blows to the foe whom we meet.

Allen G. Thurman is that man in thought, in intellect, in courage, in statesmanship, in adherence to Constitutional law, in defiance of the power of monopolies, in defense of the rights of the masses, in defiance of the corruptions of the age. Who to-day stands as the peer of Allen G. Thurman, unless it be that man who has passed away from the arena of politics—Samuel J. Tilden.

But it is said that he lives in an October State. It is said you cannot carry that State. Gentlemen of the Convention, we have carried the State twice in the last two annual elections. Give us Allen G. Thurman and we will carry it again in October as well as November. We bring to you no callow politician. We bring to you no man who has to tarry at Jericho until his beard has grown. We bring to you a Democrat of life-long standing. We bring to you a man who was a Democrat always; always true, always honest, always able, always resolute, never faltering, always just to his friends, and always merciful to his enemies.

Gentlemen of the Convention, I am detaining you too long. I say to you that in my deliberate judgment if you nominate—and I address it to the Delegates of New York, and Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, and Connecticut, and Indiana—if you nominate Thurman you have nominated the strongest candidate before the people

that can be put before this Convention. You not only command every Democratic vote in the United States, but you command the dissatisfied element in the Republican party.

You take a man as to whom they may be proud to say that they abandon their party to support that noblest Roman of them all, Allen G. Thurman.

I ask you to consider well before you vote against him. I know that it is said that there are divisions in Ohio; so there are in New York. I have heard New York battle with each other. There are divisions in both States, so that if that be a reason why Allen G. Thurman should be voted down, it is equally a reason why the candidate from the State of New York should be voted down.

He is a great statesman. We nominate him from Ohio, but he is not from Ohio. He is from the United States. Born in Virginia, the good old valley of Virginia, in the beautiful city of Lynchburg, coming to our State when a poor boy, without the aid of a dollar from anybody, he came with a strong arm, with the thought and intellect of a great man, and he has risen step by step, until this day, with all deference to everybody else, he is the colossal figure in the Democratic party of the United States.

THE CHAIR: The call of the roll will proceed.

When Kentucky was called, Mr. James A. McKenzie rose to his feet.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Kentucky.

MR. MCKENZIE: Mr. President, I shall not detain this Convention exceeding five minutes. It will take me three minutes to get to the platform. [Demands to go to the platform were persistent and Mr. McKenzie complied.]

THE CHAIR: Gentlemen of the Convention, the Honorable James A. McKenzie, of Kentucky.

ADDRESS OF HON. JAMES A. MCKENZIE, OF KENTUCKY.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION: In the name of a State that will give 50,000 majority to the nominee of this Convention, I desire to place in nomination for the highest office within the reach of human ambition, the name of the present distinguished Speaker of the American Congress, John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky.

In all the essential characteristics of manliness, courage, ability, integrity and patriotism, he is the peer of any that has been or will be mentioned in this great presence.

Since ill-health has compelled the retirement of the Sage of Grey-stone from the arena of active politics, no name carries with it more of talismanic charm and the respect of the American people than that of John G. Carlisle.

The Presidency of the United States is a position of such transcendent dignity, responsibility and honor that the civilization and prestige of this country, its laws, its liberties and all the great interests centering in such a trust demand that we present for the suffrages of a free people—

“A man not made for small and selfish things;  
A man to whom dishonor is unknown ;  
A man made up of greatness ; one who brings  
A victor's birth-right in his name alone.”

It may be urged against Mr. Carlisle that he comes from the wrong side of the Ohio River ; but, my God, if the Statute of Limitations ever is to run against that plea it ought to begin now. I belong to a class of men who believe that the war is over. I belong to a class of men who believe that we have a Union in fact as well as in name ; and I believe there is as much of honor, virtue and patriotism in the South as there is anywhere within the broad limits of our common country. I appeal to the sentiment of justice and fairness that pervades this great Convention, representing, as it does, the intelligence of the Democracy of America, if I come before it with any unnatural plea when I ask you to recognize that the arbitrament of the sword has settled the war, and to present to you a peace-offering in the person of John G. Carlisle. His history as a member of the House of Representatives stands out like an antique column, covered all over with the record of brave and honorable achievements. Wherever persecution has stalked abroad, or faction lifted its gorgon head, or dishonesty thrust its pilfering hand into the Nation's hoard, he has appeared in the lists as the defender of the persecuted, the champion of good order and Constitutional methods, and the sworn foe of all schemes of spoliation, plunder and extravagance.

Carlisle and the nominee of the Republican party present a contrast to which I would like to invite the attention of this Convention—the one a “combination and a form indeed, where every god did seem to set his seal to give the world assurance of a man ;” the

other leprous with accusation and tattooed all over with imputed spoils and jobbery.

The Democratic party, under the leadership of a man so conservative as Mr. Carlisle, would become the antithesis of everything that the worst elements of the Republican party advocate and espouse—and God knows that there are worse elements in that party than in any other on the face of the earth.

It would represent the spirit of order, rather than the genius of riot; the dominion of law, rather than the recklessness of license; the betterment of our civil service, rather than the longer reign of a system which fosters dishonesty, and encourages incompetency. It would proclaim to the conservatism of the country the fact that the Presidency is a great public trust, and not a personal perquisite. [The speaker had been directing most of his remarks to the Chairman, and at this point the demands of the audience became vociferous that he should turn about and face them. He inquired of the Chairman what was wanted. The Chair replied that they wanted him to face the audience. He then came forward and, in a voice to be heard distinctly all over the hall, said "All right, gentlemen, I am not afraid to face you." When the great burst of applause which greeted this retort, had subsided, the speaker continued]: It would announce that corporations should be under the dominion of law, rather than the law, and the law-maker should be under the dominion of corporations. That our lost commerce shall be restored to its rightful place on the high seas, rather than that our sailorless ships shall fall down piecemeal, and our carrying trade come and go in foreign bottoms. Above all and above everything, it would announce that war taxes shall be put on a peace basis, rather than that peace taxes shall be continued on a war basis; it would announce that our public domain should be utilized as homes for the American people, rather than as seignories for foreign syndicates and gigantic railroad corporations.

It would announce to the country that there should be demanded honesty, capacity, and integrity of every person intrusted with political power, or public place, rather than the longer continuance of a civil service in which personal fealty is the highest test of qualification, and in which dishonesty and incompetency are not infrequent exceptions to the general rule.

I invoke upon this National Convention the spirit of peace and harmony. You will have need for the vote of Kentucky when you come to make up the sum total of the result in the November



election, and I urge Mr. Carlisle's claims with less hesitation when I reflect that of the 201 electoral votes necessary to secure a Democratic President we propose in the South to furnish you 153 of them, and not charge you a cent for it.

We are all a Democratic family, do not let us fall out about questions of detail. I want to see this country sectionalized on parallels of longitude as well as on parallels of latitude. I want to live to see the time when the spirit of such confraternity will exist between the sections North and South as to obliterate all unpleasant memories of the war.

Mr. President, let there be no laggards or cowards in the Democratic ranks. Close up the files, and let there be no contentions or wranglings over minor points or sentimental differences, but let us fight with a common impulse against a common foe.

I have read in English history that when the forces of Oliver Cromwell were lying upon their arms awaiting battle they frequently engaged in angry disputations concerning matters of faith, but when the order to charge came down that line from old Ironsides, with the forces of Prince Rupert in front, they forgot their differences, and had no thought but victory until success crowned the arms of the Protector. The honorable gentleman, the Chairman of this great Convention, will shortly give to this Democratic host the command to charge all along the line. Laying aside, then, all differences, all dissensions, all bickerings and all strife, let us charge the Republican party, front and rear, and with John G. Carlisle at the head of the column, win such a victory as was won by the Puritan soldiery over the forces of Charles at Naseby and Marston Moor.

MR. CARTER H. HARRISON, of Illinois: On behalf of ten thousand hungry and five thousand thirsty people I move that the Convention adjourn until seven o'clock this evening.

THE CHAIR: The motion is not in order. The Convention is in the execution of a previous order. The roll of States will proceed.

When Massachusetts was called, Hon. Josiah G. Abbott said:

Mr. Chairman, Massachusetts presents no name for nomination at this time.

MR. E. C. WALTHAL, of Mississippi: Mr. Chairman, the State of

Mississippi, through Gen. Charles E. Hooker, desires to second the nomination of the Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware.

ADDRESS OF GEN. CHARLES E. HOOKER, OF MISSISSIPPI.

GENTLEMEN OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF THE UNION: We of the South have come to your Convention, as it has been our wont for many years past, to fight as soldiers in the ranks of the Democratic party. We come with a solid electoral vote from the South for the nominee of this Convention, whoever he may be. We come with no set speech in favor of any special individual; and as the representative of my own Delegation I come to speak and to second the nomination of the distinguished Senator from Delaware, Thomas F. Bayard. When I heard the nomination made by that distinguished citizen of Indiana of a Western Democrat who stands high in the estimation of the party all over the Union, when his name was presented by Gov. Hendricks, of Indiana, he whom we came from the South hoping to support, in common with the head of the great old ticket of 1876, it touched a very warm place in the heart of every Southern man. And when the distinguished young gentleman from California, whom I saw to-day, when he stood upon this stand to speak to you for the first time, a fit type of his great and glorious father, whom it was my delight to honor—when I heard him present the name of Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, in the heart of every Mississippian and every Southern man the conviction arose that he had named a man high and lofty in the ranks of the Democratic party, peering with any one. We of the South have come here for the purpose of uniting in making a nomination with our fellow Democrats all over the Union which shall achieve Democratic victory in November next; and as we survey the ground we take our position not because we have special favorites, but because we are looking to a nomination that may compact together, upon the principles asserted in our platform and upon the candidate nominated, the entire Democracy of the whole Union!

It is said that Thomas F. Bayard comes from a small State. Aye, he does, gentlemen of the Convention, but in his own person he has a heart large enough and a head big enough to embrace the whole Union from sea to sea.

We want a nomination made here upon principles which shall command success. We want a nomination made of a man whose record is so fair that it is utterly and entirely unassailable. We

want a nomination of a man who stands upon the great financial questions in an attitude of acceptability to every portion of this wide-spread country. We want a man who, upon the tariff question, stands upon the firm, safe middle-ground between the impracticability of free trade upon the one side and the equally unconstitutional doctrine of protection for protection only, upon the other. We do not intend, I hope, that this great Democratic Convention shall be split in two by the quarrels anywhere had upon the question of the tariff. We intend to make the plank broad enough for us all to stand upon and desert no principle in maintaining it.

In seconding the nomination of Mr. Bayard it would be idle for me to speak to the American people of his character. His record is before you, unblemished by a single mistake, unstained by a single act that requires explanation. He would head your ticket and bear your flag for an assailing canvass against the forces of the enemy; and not one advocate upon any stump in the Union would ever have to explain either the personal character or the public record of Thomas F. Bayard. It is because we believe he possesses these elements of success, this capacity to combine and concentrate the power of the party everywhere, that we second in behalf of Mississippi the nomination made by the State of Delaware. There are said to be divisions in some of the great States. In the State of New York, the Empire State, that stands in colossal grandeur and power in your Electoral College, and which gives great strength and force and power to whomever it may name, it is well known to us all that there are divisions. We have seen it in this Convention, and I suggested to one of the gentlemen of that Delegation when I first learned on my arrival here that Tilden and Hendricks would no longer be in the field that we should select a candidate outside of New York who would coalesce and combine together the entire Democratic party in the Empire State, and in our judgment Thomas F. Bayard was that man.

We have passed the day in the history of the Democratic party, and I trust in the history of our nation, when men of mediocre capacity, when men whose characters are stained by anything that is not as pure as the bright snow upon Alpine summits, ought to occupy the highest office within the gift of the American people.

We want a man of brains and culture and courage, and Thomas F. Bayard is that man. We want a man whose knowledge of Governmental affairs of the entire continent, whose public career shall command admiration of the entire country. He speaks in no doubtful

terms upon any question that has ever been before the American people. Gathering his inspiration from the great founders of the Constitution, he believes in maintaining the Government of the United States, in the language of the Supreme Court of the United States, as an indissoluble Union of indestructible States, preserving on the one hand the Constitutional powers of the Federal Government in the sphere of power and authority, and on the other preserving with equal sanctity the powers of the States reserved to themselves. This is his great cardinal doctrine. I have said that with him I believe we could challenge success. He will heal the differences of the great Empire State of New York. He will coalesce the two great sections of that party. He stands the best chance of any man that can be named to carry the State of New Jersey. He stands the best chance of any man that can be named to carry the State of Connecticut, and he has a record so pure, so upright, so unchallenged, that he will achieve victories in States where we now do not think of it. And with his name upon our standard when we go before the people you will hear the "*io triumphe*" of victory coming from where the great Mississippi flows, with its thousand tributaries, to that golden bowl of the West Indies—the Gulf of Mexico. You will hear it coming from the glittering lakes of your own fair and sun-favored country of the West. You will hear it coming from where the long swell of the Atlantic breaks upon the rock-bound New England shore. The voice of victory will span the continent, crossing hill and vale, rill and mountain, and its last great echo, I say to my friends in California, will be heard where the Western ocean breaks against the golden gates of California.

I have said that Thomas F. Bayard's record, his position, his principles, his attitude, need no explanation to the American people. He speaks never in any doubtful terms. His are not the words that fall from the lips of the unthinking demagogue to madden for a moment, and expire, but his are words winged with great deeds for the future, words of sober wisdom and lofty patriotism, such as freedom's martyrs exhale as they expire and the most enduring forms that earth permits to linger in the shade of the huge crag where the eagle builds his eyrie, or in the sea-cave where the tempest sleeps, until some hero of gigantic mold like Thomas F. Bayard shall bid them wake to fill the world with echo.

THE CHAIR: The call of States will proceed.

When Nebraska was reached, Mr. R. A. Beatty said :

Ex-Gov. Morton, of the State of Nebraska, desires to second the nomination of Bayard. He is now engaged on the Committee on Resolutions, and desires to have that opportunity after he comes from that Committee.

THE CHAIR : Nebraska desires an opportunity to second the nomination of Mr. Bayard after the gentleman who has been selected for the purpose shall return. He is now engaged upon a Committee. Unless objection is made, leave will be taken as granted.

MR. COCKRAN, of New York : Is it in order to move a recess pending the roll-call ?

THE CHAIR : It is not. The Convention is in the execution of an order to call the roll of the States, which is but partly completed.

MR. HARRISON, of Illinois : Suppose this call of the roll should last until midnight ? A motion to adjourn to a fixed time is always in order.

THE CHAIR : The parliamentary law would not differ if it lasted until Saturday midnight.

The call of the States was continued, and when New York was reached, Mr. Daniel Manning, of that State, arose and said :

New York presents the name of Grover Cleveland, and desires to be heard through Mr. Daniel N. Lockwood, of Buffalo.

THE CHAIR : The Hon. Daniel N. Lockwood, of New York.

ADDRESS OF HON. DANIEL N. LOCKWOOD, OF NEW YORK.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION : It is with no ordinary feeling, and with no ordinary feeling of responsibility, that I appear before this Convention as a representative of the Democracy of the State of New York for the purpose of placing in nomination before this Convention a gentleman from the State of New York for the candidacy of the Presidency of the United States. This responsibility is made greater when I remember that the richest pages of American history have been made up from the records of Democratic Administrations. Its responsibility is made still greater when I remember that the only blot in the political history of the country—the action of the Electoral Commission at Washington in



1876—was an outrage upon the American people, that that outrage and that injury to justice is still unavenged, and this responsibility is not lessened when I recall the fact that the gentleman whose name I shall present to you has been my political associate from our youth to the present hour. Side by side have we marched to the melody of Democratic music. Side by side have we studied the principles of Jefferson and of Jackson, and learned the faith in which we believe, and during all this time we have occupied the positions, comparatively, of private citizens, yet always true and always faithful to Democratic principles. And, gentlemen of the Convention, the only object of our meeting here is to deal with the question so that when we have gone to our homes the people who are the voters of the country will ratify the nomination which we shall make.

No man has greater respect or more veneration for the honored names which have been presented to this Convention than myself ; but, gentlemen, the world is moving, and moving rapidly. From the North and the South new men—men who have acted but little in politics—are coming to the front, and to-day there are hundreds and thousands of young men in this country, men who are to cast their first vote, men who are independent in politics, and they are looking to this Convention praying silently that there shall be no mistake made here. They want to drive the Republican party from power ; they want to cast their vote for a Democrat in whom they believe ; and those people know from the record of the gentleman whose name I shall present that Democracy with him means honest government, pure government, the protection of the rights of the people of every class and every condition.

A little more than three years ago I had the honor at the City of Buffalo to present the name of this same gentleman for the office of Mayor of that city. It was presented then for the same reason and for the same causes that we present it now. It was because the government of that city had become corrupt, had become debauched and political integrity sat not in high places. The people looked for a man who would represent honest government, and without any hesitation they named Grover Cleveland. The result of that election and of his holding that office was, that in less than nine months the State of New York found herself in a position to want just such a candidate and for just such a purpose. At the State Convention in 1882 his name was placed in nomination for the office of Governor of the State of New York. The same people, the same class of people knew that that meant honest government, it meant pure govern-

ment, it meant Democratic government, and it was ratified at the polls ; and, gentlemen, now after eighteen months of service there the Democracy of the State of New York come to you and ask you to go to the country, to go to the Independent and Democratic voters of the country, to go to the young men of the country, the new blood of the country, and present the name of Grover Cleveland as your standard-bearer.

I shall indulge in no eulogy of Mr. Cleveland ; I shall not attempt any further description of his political career ; it is known ; his Democracy is known ; his statesmanship is known throughout the length and breadth of this land. All I ask of this Convention is to let no passion, no prejudice, influence their duty which they owe to the people of this country. Be not deceived. Grover Cleveland can give the Democratic party the thirty-six Electoral votes of the State of New York next November. He can by his purity of character, by his purity of Administration, by his fearless and undaunted courage to do right, bring to you more strength than any other man. One word more. Cleveland's candidacy before this Convention is offered upon the ground of his honor, his integrity, his wisdom, and his Democracy. Upon those grounds we ask it, believing that if nominated by this Convention he can be elected and take his seat at Washington, a Democratic President of the United States.

MR. F. H. WINSTON, of Illinois : The State of Illinois asks the indulgence of the Convention that the nomination of Grover Cleveland may be seconded by Mayor Carter H. Harrison, of Chicago. We again claim the indulgence of the Convention.

THE CHAIR : The gentleman from Illinois asks leave for the State of Illinois to second the nomination of Grover Cleveland. The State of Illinois has been called and passed. Is there any objection ? If not, his second will be received.

MR. GRADY, of New York : Will the State of New York be called again ?

THE CHAIR : The gentleman from New York will be recognized presently. I need hardly name to this Convention the next Governor of Illinois.

#### ADDRESS OF HON. CARTER H. HARRISON, OF ILLINOIS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION : I was asked a little while ago to second this nomination because the distinguished gentleman who was to have done so is absent by reason

of indisposition. I will detain you but a few moments to give you the reasons why I think Illinois wants Grover Cleveland for its candidate. Gentlemen, in 1876 was that terrible crime, so graphically described by your Temporary Chairman, committed. He told you in language I cannot compare with that that crime is yet to be avenged, and that till the Democracy had won a Presidency it would not be wiped from the page of American history. He told you that that crime was next to judicial murder—murder committed by the Republican party. And remembering that it is said “Whoso sheddeth man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed,” the Democracy must destroy the Republican party this Fall or the crime goes four years longer unavenged. Eight weeks ago we heard coming from all over this land a name that we know would wipe out the crime. From the North and from the South, from the East and from the West came the name, and that name was Samuel J. Tilden.

A VOICE : And Hendricks.

MR. HARRISON : I will reach the other end of the ticket in a moment. Samuel J. Tilden we expected to be presented at this Convention, and we had expected no nomination and no ballot. It would have been done by acclamation, and it would have been followed by another name—one who even yet, if we cannot agree, may be mentioned here ; but with true chivalry, true to his friend whom he has nominated to-day, Thomas A. Hendricks refuses to have his name mentioned here.

Now, gentlemen, how is the crime committed in 1876 to be avenged? The cry came eight weeks ago for Tilden and reform. That cry is echoed here, “Cleveland and reform.” No man asked the nomination of Mr. Cleveland because of his magnetism. He neither attracts the people nor do corporations attract him. The magnetic man is on the other side. We want a man whose name will be the synonym of honesty and reform. We believe in Illinois that the mantle of Gov. Tilden has fallen, and rightly fallen, and rests gracefully upon the shoulders of Grover Cleveland. We believe in the last closing words of that great letter from our grand leader, whose brain is yet as clear as a bell, though an Almighty God has permitted his hand to be palsied and his voice to be almost stilled, we believe in that utterance of his, that the cry of the Democratic party this Fall must and shall be reform; and we have no doubt that Mr. Cleveland will give us reform.

Gentlemen, we are here to deliberate. I do not want to nominate Mr. Cleveland if we cannot elect him. They tell us we cannot. Fac-

tional fight comes and says he has enemies. Where does the fight come from? They say that a great Church will oppose him on religious grounds. Ah, no! That Church never lets its minister's voice be heard in the pulpit preaching politics; and the cry that that Church will not permit Mr. Cleveland to be elected is a slander upon a Church that has in its employ some of Democracy's first and most noble standard-bearers.

They say that the Irish will cut his throat—they will knife him. Did you ever know the Irish to knife the Democratic party except for good reasons? No! The Irishman believes in the Democratic party because the Democratic party is true to every oppressed people and is true to the Irishman.

They say Mr. Cleveland, forsooth, did not pardon somebody, and therefore the Irish will knife Mr. Cleveland. Whom will they knife Mr. Cleveland for? For Mr. Blaine? Why, do you think that the Irishmen will forget Max Sweeney lying in a foreign dungeon? Max Sweeney, whose wife had shed tears almost of blood, before James G. Blaine, and he turned a deaf ear to her supplications. The Irish will not desert Mr. Cleveland, because the Irish believe in the Democratic party when the Democratic party is right. And if we nominate Mr. Cleveland we will be right, and the Irish will stand by us.

They tell us that the workingmen will desert Mr. Cleveland. My friends, who are the friends of the workingman? It is the Democratic party; the party of the people; true to the workingmen; founded on the workingmen; a party founded and built upon the workingmen as upon a rock which will endure forever.

They tell us that Mr. Cleveland vetoed some bill hostile to the workingmen. Has there been a whisper that those vetoes, or that veto, was brought about by corrupt influences? Not one. It is an insult to the workingman to say that he is going to be caught by a catchword, or carried away by idle denunciation.

My friends, there is another great party in this country; there is another great nationality; and those spring from it who believe in honesty. I speak now of the Germanic people of the United States. All they demand in the officers of the Government is honesty of purpose and honesty in practice. Give us Gov. Cleveland, and I believe ninety per cent. of the German-speaking Republicans of the past will be found side by side with the Democrats this Fall in electing him.

On this account, Mr. Chairman, I ask that this Convention will

nominate Grover Cleveland; because I believe he will help us to win Illinois next November.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Minnesota has the floor.

MR. GEORGE N. BAXTER, of Minnesota: The State of Minnesota, which has been passed in the call of the roll, asks the privilege of seconding the nomination of Gov. Cleveland.

THE CHAIR: The State of Minnesota asks the privilege of seconding the nomination of Gov. Cleveland. There being no objection, the privilege is accorded.

MR. A. J. O'CONNOR, of Illinois: I object until New York is through with.

THE CHAIR: You are too late. The objection was not made until after the privilege had been accorded.

THE CHAIR: The Hon. Richard A. Jones, of Minnesota.

ADDRESS OF HON. RICHARD A. JONES, OF MINNESOTA.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: Minnesota, coming here from the Far North and what was but recently the Far West, desires to add her modest voice in seconding the name of the Governor of New York for President of the United States. We came here elected to support another and more distinguished name from that great State, together with the eloquent gentleman who presented the candidate from Indiana, but, being denied that privilege, we wish to urge upon you deliberation and care in selecting a candidate who may be elected in November, and we believe that that man is Grover Cleveland, of New York. We have nothing to say against, but everything in favor of, that distinguished Senator coming from the State of Delaware, whose own great name enlarges the boundaries of his State. We look with pride to that still great name, once so eloquent in the councils of the United State Senate, coming from Ohio, who stands like some tall cliff, lifting his noble form undismayed, though defeated in his own State, dear to all of us as the bright and great son of Ohio. But, gentlemen, we want to succeed this next November. We want you to give us a name that even in Minnesota, where we cannot give you an Electoral vote, yet we may advance the banners of Democracy until they shall be fixed, like the motto upon our State escutcheon of the North Star, unmoved and always Democratic, and carried forth in the future to victory. If you will place on the banners of the Democracy this Fall the great name



from New York and cry "Excelsior," we, too, will take up the shout that shall echo from the Atlantic to the Pacific until we have achieved the victory that is already thundering in the air.

Gentlemen of the Convention, I have no other words to say to you than this. In Republican States, like the State of Minnesota, we wish to add new names to the Democratic poll. We wish to increase our numbers. Then we call upon you to give us the name of Grover Cleveland, for whom every Democrat can vote in that great State. You have been detained too long already, and I therefore simply leave the stand, thanking you for your attention.

The Chairman now recognized Mr. T. F. Grady, of New York, who came forward to the platform.

THE CHAIR: The Hon. Thomas F. Grady, of New York.

MR. HOSEA W. PARKER, of New Hampshire: I rise to a point of order. The gentleman is out of order unless he rises for the purpose of seconding a nomination.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman (Mr. Parker) will please take his seat. The gentleman from New York (Mr. Grady), having been recognized and awarded the floor, I cannot sustain a point of order that he is not entitled to have it.

ADDRESS OF HON. THOMAS F. GRADY, OF NEW YORK.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: You will remember that a little while ago, in a Convention held within these walls, amid the most unbounded enthusiasm outside the floor of the Convention, with waving plumes and shouts of joy, recorded as lasting for seventeen minutes continuously, the Republicans named their candidate; but within a few hours all the enthusiasm had subsided, and he has been the tamest kind of a candidate ever since.

I have no dancing plume to wave. I have no hope that the plain story I propose to address to you will awaken unbounded enthusiasm among those whose only concern is that some local advantage may be gained under the name of "Cleveland and Reform" in this, that, or the other State, at the sacrifice of the Presidency of the United States. I should be glad to second Mr. Cleveland's nomination except that I know and believe I can show you that he cannot carry the State of New York. I do not ask you to take my word for it. I don't ask you to decide a question of veracity as between the gentlemen who favor him and myself. I do not ask you

to weigh my opinion against that of any other man. But I point to you a test as unerring, as certain as the light of day itself,—if Grover Cleveland was the choice of the New York Democracy the last State Convention of that organization and the Delegates-at-large chosen by it, would not be equally divided between his friends and his opponents.

GEN. BRAGG, of Wisconsin: Mr. Chairman, I rise to a question of order.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman will state his point of order and it will be heard.

GEN. BRAGG: I cannot state my point of order when a mob controls the Convention. When order prevails I will state my point of order. My point of order is that the order of business which this— [The confusion was so great the speaker's voice was drowned again.]

THE CHAIR: The Sergeant-at-Arms will preserve order. The gentleman is entitled to state his point of order, and shall do it.

GEN. BRAGG: My point of order is that the order of business which this Convention is executing is the nomination of candidates and not the attacking of candidates. Upon that point I call the gentleman to order and ask the ruling of the Chair.

THE CHAIR: The Chair remembers that a similar point of order was made at the St. Louis Convention; and, as the Chair remembers, it was sustained. But the Chair has been disposed to be exceedingly lenient in allowing the course of remarks, anticipating that the gentleman would come to his nomination. Unless he is about to proceed to his nomination the Chair would feel obliged to sustain the point of order.

MR. DANIEL MANNING, Chairman of the New York Delegation: On behalf of the New York State Delegation I ask unanimous consent of this Convention that Mr. Grady be allowed to proceed, without regard to the point of order.

THE CHAIR: The Chair did not hear the gentleman from New York. [The official stenographer repeated to the Chairman what Mr. Manning had said.] The Chairman of the New York Delegation asks the consent of the Convention that the gentleman (Mr. Grady) be allowed to proceed irrespective of the point of order.

GEN. R. C. WICLIFFE, of Louisiana: I will agree to that propo-

sition, provided a New York Delegate shall be heard in reply to him.

THE CHAIR: The Chair hears no objection, and presumes that to be the unanimous consent of the Convention. The Sergeant-at-Arms will ask the gentlemen to take their seats. The Convention will please be in order, and give Mr. Grady the entire, patient hearing that his ability entitles him to.

MR. GRADY: Mr. Chairman, it has been stated that the purpose for which you are assembled is to make a nomination that will be ratified by the people at the next election, and it has been urged in support of the nomination presented from New York that that is the one that would receive such treatment at the hands of the people. I am here to say to you that we do not claim, as suggested by the distinguished Delegate from Illinois, that the Catholics or the Irish are against Mr. Cleveland. We are here to say that the Anti-Monopoly element of the State, and the laboring interest of the State, Catholic and Protestant, Irish, German and American, every man who belongs to either of these two great interests, is opposed to Grover Cleveland's nomination, and will be opposed to Grover Cleveland's election, and with good reason for their course. I am speaking to you from the records of our State. I am not sneaking into the rooms of your Delegations, taking my chance as to whether what I say will be known to those of whom it is said. I am here before this Convention backed by the public records of my State. Mr. Cleveland was elected Governor of the State of New York in 1882 by a majority of 192,000. He owed that majority, first, to the most loyal, enthusiastic, devoted Democratic support that ever a candidate received. Next, he owed it to those identified with the Anti-Monopoly organization in every one of the sixty counties of our State, because at the preceding Legislative session a Railroad Commission bill had been passed; and third, he owed it to the Republican disaffection brought about by the same interference in local concerns of which Mr. Cleveland himself has been guilty since.

But let us go back to 1882. The gentleman who placed his name in nomination said the world is moving—moving rapidly. The world is moving much too rapidly, if Thurman, McDonald, Bayard and Randall must stand aside while Cleveland takes the lead. We had an election in 1883. We had a candidate representing all that Mr. Cleveland represents. He was Mr. Cleveland's beau ideal; he represented his party policy, his political methods, and everything

with which Mr. Cleveland has seen fit to identify himself; and instead of riding at the head of the majority column, 192,000 strong, he was buried under an adverse majority of 18,597, making a change in the Democratic vote of 211,431. They will tell you that a local issue brought about that change. They will tell you that it was the candidate's identification with Prohibition; but the whole State, from one end to the other, where the liquor element was great and where the liquor element was weak, showed the same dissatisfaction with Mr. Cleveland's administration; and right in Mr. Cleveland's own home of Erie County the Democratic loss was 11,787. Let me try to show you the cause for this. I said that much of Mr. Cleveland's success was due to the fact that the Democratic Legislature in 1882 had passed a Railroad Commission bill. Much of the dissatisfaction with Mr. Cleveland to-day is because he has deprived the people of the fruits and benefits of that Railroad Commission bill. He has appointed men identified with the interests to which the people are opposed. He has made it not a court before which they can go with confidence, but a packed jury, in which they have no voice, and from which they can gain no relief. (Confusion and noise.)

HON. M. J. McCAFFERTY, of Massachusetts: Mr. Chairman, I call attention to the fact that all disturbances are outside the line of the Delegates. If the President would enforce the rule that those outside of Delegates should remain quiet or the house would be cleared of them we would get through with this business much more rapidly.

THE CHAIR: The Chair will certainly enforce that rule unless the disturbances be discontinued. The gentleman from New York has the floor and is entitled to patient hearing.

MR. GRADY: It was because of this action that the Anti-Monopoly vote, which is not the Tammany vote, which is not a vote controlled by political organization, which is not a vote confined to the City of New York, but which extends throughout the entire State—that vote was alienated from the Democratic party, and if there be any dispute as to the standing of that organization in reference to the nomination of Mr. Cleveland for the Presidency I am willing that the Executive Committee of the Anti-Monopoly League should speak, and they have spoken, in condemnation of his candidacy, and of unalterable opposition in the event of his name being placed upon our ticket.

The distinguished gentleman from Illinois, who doubted whether there was any one who would charge the veto of the Elevated Railroad bill as being influenced by corrupt motives, can do as all of us have done—take the facts and make up his opinion for himself. In 1882 the Democratic Senate passed the Five-Cent-Fare bill. In 1882, as was supposed, by the corrupt use of money, the Five-Cent bill was defeated in the Assembly. In 1883 the bill passed the Assembly without any attempt to stop it. The bill came to a Senate already committed to its support and the people thought there was something wrong—people feared there might be something wrong—and people have placed the entire responsibility for the injustice under which they suffer in this regard upon the shoulders of the present Governor of our State. Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the Convention, they have told you that this Five-Cent-Fare bill was an unimportant local issue. I will tell you what it meant. It meant that when the clerk left his business at 3 o'clock Saturday he should not stand for an hour and a half under the broiling sun to keep five cents in his own pocket and out of the pocket of the grasping monopoly whose services he had to employ. It meant that on Sunday, when the mechanic—

A VOICE IN THE AUDIENCE: Why don't you speak for Blaine?

THE CHAIR: The Sergeant-at-Arms will give attention to that man in the gallery.

MR. CASSIDY, of Iowa: I move that the galleries be cleared.

THE CHAIR: The galleries must keep order or they will be cleared. The gentleman shall have the floor and a fair opportunity to say every word he is entitled to say.

MR. GRADY: It meant that on Sunday, when the mechanic took his wife and his two or three children to get a breath of fresh air from out the tenement districts that he should not have to pay— (Renewed confusion.)

THE CHAIR: The Convention will be in order. Delegates will take their seats. Every man must contribute his efforts to preserve order by maintaining it himself. The gentleman from New York will proceed. Let there be perfect order and you will enjoy his argument and sooner reach a conclusion.

MR. GRADY: It meant that when the workingman on Sunday takes his wife and his two or three children to the Elevated Railroad depot to go from out the tenement district into the suburbs, there to have the only holiday vouchsafed him during the week, he should



pay twenty cents instead of forty cents fare, and in going and coming save what represents to him the toil of five hours during the day. And I say to you the State of New York cannot be carried for Mr. Cleveland; not because of any Irish question, not because of any Catholic question, but because of this Anti-Monopoly question in which the people have a deep-seated feeling that no man could be worse to them than Mr. Cleveland has been in that regard. Joined with this is the large labor interest in the State of New York. They seek to speak for the laboring interest. They have had here one or two men whose connection with the laboring interest has resulted in placing them in comfortable berths. They have asked you to accept their whispers as the feelings of that great body of men who cannot be delivered over on election-day by any political organization under the sun.

Now, Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the Convention, it is easy to indulge in glittering generalities. Democracy is a great, big word, and has often been employed to cover a multitude of sins. I only know of one single instance in which Grover Cleveland was brought face to face with Democratic doctrine and made to show his hand either as a Democrat or something else, and he proved at that time to be something else. The Democracy are opposed to the centralization of power. The Democracy believe in the lodging of power in the hands of the people. The Democracy believe in the distribution of power so that it shall never become stronger in an official than is consistent with the absolute liberty of the people. One great question was offered to Mr. Cleveland during the eighteen months of his Administration to prove himself either the friend of absolutism, of centralized autocratic government, or to prove himself attached to the true principles of Democracy, and he failed us then.

Now, gentlemen of the Convention, let me remind you of a consideration that has been used every day since the canvass opened in this city, and that is that the fight against Cleveland was the same fight that had been made eight years ago against Samuel J. Tilden. But you men who know those who at that time were as close in Mr. Tilden's support as any man now upon this floor, find them to-day arrayed against this attempt to sacrifice the opportunity of the Democratic party to take a gambler's chance of winning the State of New York with a doubtful man.

HON. W. A. WALLACE, of Pennsylvania: Will the Chair permit me to make a motion?

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from New York has the floor.

MR. WALLACE: Will the gentleman yield so that I may introduce a motion?

MR. GRADY: Certainly.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman yields. Senator Wallace has the floor.

SENATOR WALLACE: I move to suspend the order of business now pending in order that I may introduce a motion to take a recess until 7.30 this evening. We have been in session six hours; human endurance can stand it no longer, and I hope we may be permitted to take a recess.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Pennsylvania moves to suspend the order of business with the view of making a motion, he says, to take a recess until 7.30.

MR. SMALLEY, of Vermont: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman will state his point of order.

MR. SMALLEY: My point of order is that during the call of the roll of the States the motion to take a recess is not in order.

THE CHAIR: The Chair is obliged to overrule the point of order. The Convention may at any time suspend its order of business. The motion is not debatable.

The motion to suspend the order of business was lost.

THE CHAIR: Gentlemen will now come to order. If we remain here until midnight we will do it like gentlemen. The Convention will come to order, and order will be maintained on the part of the audience. The gentleman from New York has the floor.

MR. GRADY: I have only asked this Convention to accept as authorized the statements which have been made by those in authority to speak for the opposition against the nomination which has been urged; and I want to contrast with the treatment of that nomination the position taken with regard to other nominations that have been made. It has been urged that Thurman is not available because he comes from an October State. It is placing a low estimate upon the intelligence of the Democracy of the Nation to say that as against a life-long public service, such as the distinguished son of Ohio has given to this Nation and to the Democratic party, the State from which he comes or the time of its election shall count against him.

It is urged against McDonald that he belongs to the West and that the candidate must come from New York. If the candidate is to come from New York let it be some man in New York who will not be antagonized by those elements that are outside of political control. But, sir, New York cannot afford to take that position. The Democracy of New York takes no such position, and the men who represent her as greedily demanding that if the President is to be elected he must come from that State do a great injustice to the constituencies by whom they were sent here. New York can be carried for Bayard, McDonald, Thurman, Randall, or any man who may be named outside of the State. New York is a safe State if we have the Democratic party solidly united. New York is not a safe State, even if we have a few Independent Republican votes, if most of the Democrats are enrolled in some other camp. Let the first concern of this Convention be to keep united the members of our own party. First let us take care of our household, and then let us go on this mission of charity to the political heathen who is willing to be converted outside of the Republican camp and administer to him such consolation as may be within our power. I am only anxious that the outcome of this Convention shall be the nomination of a ticket which shall bring to its support every honest, loyal Democrat throughout the United States. I am only anxious that the cowardice condemned by us when exhibited by our enemies, and yet imitated by us when faced with the practical question, shall not deprive us of the advantage of the present political situation. The Chairman of this Convention said that it was time that the war issues were buried, that he believed they were buried, that he believed it would be fruitless to attempt to revive them throughout the Union; and yet here in a Democratic Convention it is urged against one of the candidates that, because some twenty-three years ago his voice went up for peace rather than for war, he cannot be presented after twenty-five years of patriotic service as a safe candidate before the very men who say that the war and its memories, its unpleasant memories, must be a thing of the past. I say to you, if you show that cowardice here now, you may expect the rebuke which cowardice deserves. I tell you that if you look with confidence to the men who have suffered most because of their undying and unflinching Democracy, you must show here to-day a Democracy that is satisfied first in satisfying Democrats, and whose second concern is in satisfying those dissatisfied with their own party.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the Convention, for

the patient hearing you have given me. I only hope that the result of the vote upon the question will make us a united party marching solidly to victory under the leadership of some statesman who is known throughout the length and breadth of the land.

THE CHAIR : The gentleman from New York, Mr. Cockran.

MR. COCKRAN : I have a motion to make. Mr. Chairman, my motion is a very innocent one. It is simply to renew that which had been previously made by Senator Wallace except in a sufficiently modified form to bring it within the rules. I move that the order of business be now suspended, and that we take a recess until eight o'clock this evening. And on that motion I call for the roll of States, and I will submit to have it voted down by the Delegates, but I decline to have it smothered by the galleries.

THE CHAIR : The gentleman from New York moves to suspend the order of business with a view to make a motion to take a recess to eight o'clock this evening. He calls for a call of the roll of the States. I wish to state that I have disregarded individual calls early in the Convention and that I believed that I was right in doing so, and having since conferred with distinguished parliamentarians knowing the rules of the House of Representatives, which govern this body, I find I am right, and that a call of the States can only be made when one State—not an individual Delegate, but through its Chairman—calls for the roll and five States second it. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from New York to suspend the order of business, which is not debatable.

The motion was lost.

MR. JOHN F. HOUSE, of Tennessee : Mr. Chairman, I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. Is a motion to adjourn now in order ?

THE CHAIR : No, sir. The house is still in the execution of its order of business, and the only motion that the Chair can entertain is to suspend that order of business.

MR. HOUSE : A motion to adjourn, Mr. Chairman, is always in order.

THE CHAIR : No, sir ; not when the order of business is proceeding.

MR. COCKRAN, of New York : Mr. Chairman, I rise to a question of privilege. A demand was made for a call of the roll of States by the State of California which the Chairman overlooked.

THE CHAIR : The Chair did overlook it, he regrets to say, if it was made ; but the motion has been lost, and the Chair so decided.

MR. COCKRAN : Mr. Chairman, I then renew my motion to adjourn until half-past eight.

THE CHAIR : Let us have order, gentlemen. We make no progress whatever in disorder. The gentleman from New York renews the motion to suspend the order of business with a view to a motion for a recess until half-past eight.

MR. COCKRAN : Until eleven o'clock in the morning—I desire to change that.

MR. BRAGG, of Wisconsin : Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order. There has been no intervening business for this motion to suspend.

THE CHAIR : The point of order of the gentleman from Wisconsin is that it is a motion to suspend the order of business which has just been overruled without intervening business. It is well taken, and the motion is out of order.

MR. COCKRAN : I then ask for the floor in the name of the State of New York.

MR. MCGILVRAY, of Colorado : Mr. President, I propose to renew that motion, sir, but in a different manner.

THE CHAIR : One moment. The gentleman from New York asks the floor.

Mr. Cockran, of New York, then took the speaker's platform.

A DELEGATE : Does he want to make a nomination ?

MR. COCKRAN : Mr. Chairman, I am here to second a nomination.

A DELEGATE : I object.

THE CHAIR : He rises to second a nomination. I trust there will be no further objection or disorder. Let us hear the gentleman from New York. The gentleman from New York has the floor.

MR. O. W. POWERS, of Michigan : Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order. Unless the gentleman takes the floor to nominate or present a candidate he is out of order.



## ADDRESS OF HON. W. BOURKE COCKRAN, OF NEW YORK.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am here to second a candidate whose name ought to be received with welcome in a Democratic Convention. I take this platform to second the nomination of a gentleman about whose ability to carry the critical State of New York no question can be raised by the majority of the Delegation from that State, and no question will be raised by the minority. I stand upon this platform in the name of the great constituency which I in part represent, to thank the members of this body for the generous disposition which has been manifested on the part of so many Delegations, to sacrifice all personal preferences, all personal prejudice, all questions of State pride or local advantage, for the grand purpose of carrying this country for the party, and which, subordinating every personal impulse to the welfare of the party, induces them to allow the State of New York to nominate the candidate. Gentlemen of the Convention, my purpose in taking this platform is to second the nomination of a man who will fill the very purpose for which you have made so many sacrifices in all your different States. It is to warn you, lest your magnanimity may degenerate into folly, and lest your generosity may become extravagance, that I, in behalf of the minority of the New York Delegation, desire to say to you a few words which may enlighten you on the condition of the party in that State, and thereby direct your eyes to the man who is properly——

GEN. BRAGG, of Wisconsin : I call the gentleman to order.

MR. COCKRAN : Will you let me finish one sentence, only as a matter of politeness ?

GEN. BRAGG : You are out of order, and you might as well stop at one time as another.

MR. COCKRAN : No power on earth can make me stop except the direction of the Chair.

GEN. BRAGG : I insist that the gentleman is out of order. The point of order I make is that he has stated his purpose to be to second a nomination ; and to go into a statement of the condition of politics in the State of New York is not a part of seconding a nomination.

MR. CLUNIE, of California : Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIR : The point of order is raised. I will hear no discussion.

MR. CLUNIE : I can be heard on a point of order.

THE CHAIR : The Chair is of the opinion that the point of order

is not well taken. He is making his own argument in his own way, in making or seconding a nomination, so long as he does not make it an attack on other candidates.

MR. CLUNIE : I would remind the gentleman of what Carter Harrison said, that the Catholic Church was against him, and the claim that the labor element was against him, and the charity institutions were against him, and why should not this man discuss the same things as well as Carter Harrison ?

MR. COCKRAN : With many thanks to the Chairman, and also with the gracious permission of the great objector from Wisconsin (Gen. Bragg), I will give to this Convention a few words of sincere advice. Gentlemen, there is no person in this hall who feels more kindly to the gentleman who has been named as the candidate of the majority of the New York Delegation than I do. There is no person who would be more anxious to see him promoted to the place that his merits entitle him to fill, but I am too warm a friend of his to desire his promotion to an office for which I do not believe he has the mental qualifications, and where, too, it is designed, that he shall be the puppet of the gentlemen who have managed to capture the majority of the New York Delegation. Gentlemen, why should it be necessary for the members of this Convention to invade a State which does not want the assistance of the country to settle its own quarrels ? Why should there be a disposition on the part of the Democracy of this country to subject the results of this great Presidential election to the hazard of a chance, and to trust to the protestations of certain persons as to the political condition of that State, instead of following the part of prudence, and choosing from the illustrious names which are the common property of our party, some candidate whose name will be an argument in his favor, whose history will be a platform, and whose record will be an advance, and a long step in advance, toward the confidence and support of the voters of this country. (Cries of "Name your Candidate!")

I will name a man who has never been concerned in a single act which could be termed as savoring of corporate influence. I will name a man who has never prostituted an executive pen to veto a bill conceived in the interest of labor. I will point to a man whose legislative career marks the first organization of the police power of the country in checking the encroachments of a ruthless corporation, and one who, if elected to power, can never be suspected of even a disposition to prohibit legislation that will bring railroad

fares within the reach of common laborers, and make the common necessities of life less expensive to those who are the least able to defray them. I name you a man whose hairs have grown white in the service of his country—who, as each hair has glistened with age, and who, as the hoary locks have become more numerous on his brow, has added an additional page to the glorious history of our land—whose spirit breathes out from the statute books of the United States; whose name is a word that will rally to the support of the party all those who desire to see the country administered by one who has some knowledge of the principles of state-craft, and one who will restore to the Democratic column the State of Ohio, which has been too long lost from its support. I may, it is true, Mr. Chairman, in doing this, be violating some of the rules which have been laid down for the guidance of Delegates in this Convention. I am a Delegate who can speak, but who cannot vote. The rules of the Convention have disfranchised my constituency, and it is for that reason that I appeal here to the sound sense of the Democracy, and ask them by their nomination to go before the country with some apology for the action which they took yesterday, and which resulted in the gagging of a minority on the floor of this body. The gentleman who has preceded me, and who has placed Mr. Cleveland before this Convention, said a great many things, some of which were true, and some of which are possibly due to the poetic genius which is always an essential element of the character which goes to make up an orator; but when he declared that it was necessary for the Democracy to turn their backs upon statesmanship, to turn their backs upon those who have long and illustrious lives to which to point as an argument for the confidence of the country; to regard the men who had spent years in the service of this Nation, and had served it honorably, with distrust; that the unknown and untried political quantities should be selected as the leaders and the guides of this campaign, he said to you what the common sense of this Convention ought to condemn, and what the common sense of the voters will condemn if you follow his advice. I do not intend to delay this Convention to follow the gentleman from Erie County through all the devious mazes of his logic and of his rhetoric; but I ask if any reason has been given upon this platform which would justify the distrust with which you members of this Convention are expected to view the old and time-honored servants whose hairs have grown gray in your service, or why that very service should be a reason for you to visit them with dislike and

distrust, while years of effort, years of glorious toil, years which go to make up the history of our land and the Constitutional system under which we live, are to be trampled under foot, that an obscure man from Erie County may be advanced to the Presidency of the United States. I have listened in this Convention, I have listened throughout the corridors of the hotels, I have read all the arguments that have been advanced in the press as to why the old servants of the party should be discarded and the new ones should be advanced to the highest places of trust, and I am free to confess that I have not yet discovered one which ought to control the action of a sensible man. On this question I challenge the judgment of this Convention; I challenge the recollection of every honest and every fair and impartial man within hearing of my voice—what reasons have been advanced in support of this change of leadership? Why are we asked to take this plunge in the dark, to subject the future fortunes of our party to the hazards of a lottery, to thrust our hands into a bag and bring out an unknown number, which may turn out a regenerator and a Moses for the party, or may turn out a false prophet that it would be much better we had never discovered? Why are we asked to close our eyes and jump blindly over a precipice, and trust to the hazards of fortune as to what may be the result? Why, we are told that some one candidate is available, we are told that he can carry the State of New York, and a judicious but ominous silence is preserved as to why he ought to carry any State, and why, above all, he should be selected as the standard-bearer of the Democracy of the Nation.

Now, gentlemen, I am almost through. I desire simply to say this: when you are told that this gentleman is so available, will you stop to inquire as to the reliability of your authority and ask why he is available? We are told that he could carry the State of New York, and there are many gentlemen upon the floor who will tell you that he cannot. (A voice: Who says so?) If I did not feel to some extent under restraint myself, I would probably answer the outsider, who yells from the place he occupies by courtesy, by telling him that I am one who says so and there are twenty-four more in the Delegation who say so, and these twenty-five, I am prepared to say in the hearing of this Convention, believing that Mr. Cleveland cannot carry the State of New York, protest solemnly against his nomination, and through the medium of the press my words will be scattered all over the length and breadth of this land and will reach your constituents, who will demand of you a day of reckoning if

you lend yourselves blindly to the passion of this hour. They will be told that in this Convention twenty-five men from the State of New York, nearly every one of them representing some portion of the only ten Democratic counties in that State, said that he cannot carry the State of New York ; that he is viewed with distrust by the laboring classes, whose votes are the backbone of the Democratic party within that State. Now, gentlemen, we may be wrong, or they may be wrong. One or the other must be making a mistake, and when we reflect that there has not been one argument advanced as to why this particular candidate should be chosen except his alleged availability, and that the question of his availability itself is open to dispute, will not his nomination be a repetition of that insanity, that folly, that fatuity which has beset the Democracy for twenty years, and which, after exposing them to the experiences of defeat, leaves them now in a condition where they are threatened with repeating the blunders that have brought about the recurring disasters of four Presidential elections? It is against the repetition of that folly that I desire here to raise my voice. The gentleman from Illinois, the distinguished Mayor of this city, whose appearance on this platform was greeted, I believe, by a large recruiting of the members in the gallery to whom the doors were thrown open by the acts of his police—the gentleman from Illinois, who knows Chicago well, has assumed to speak of the politics of New York State. Gentlemen, he may know something about these, but if he does he has carefully concealed the extent of his knowledge while he was upon this platform. He has assumed to speak for the Catholic Church, as if he were her eldest son. I, for my part, regret that the name of a religious body should even be breathed within this Convention. To me the altar of God is a place where peace should prevail and human passions be stilled; and, as a man who believes in his creed and hopes that the vast majority of this Convention are men of a Christian type of character, I trust that the cross will not appear here to be dragged in the mire of partisan discussion, and I sincerely trust, gentlemen, that question will not be launched into the politics of this campaign, whatever may be the result of this Convention. But when the gentleman from Illinois mentions it, it is at least an evidence that there is some suspicion throughout the land that some grave religious discussion will be engendered in these contentions, which are inevitable and inseparable from Presidential contests. The man, whose nomination I have seconded, in 1875, when sectarian bigotry ran riot through the State of Ohio, when lanterns bearing inscriptions cal-



culated to arouse the worst passions of the human heart were being borne over every highway, and the confidence of the people in the system of common school education was being disturbed by the most violent appeals to their passions—the grand old Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, stood like a lightning-rod amid the storm, and conducted it harmless into the ground. His was the first voice that was raised amidst the commotion, and caused it to be still and peace and confidence to prevail throughout the length and breadth of that community. And it is in the hope that this question, with all the other burning questions of factional contests in the State of New York, may be eliminated from this campaign, that I invoke you to pause before you invade our New York and rush to settle the quarrels which we had much better settle among ourselves. We of one organization have no fear of a contest which we are allowed to fight hand to hand, in the place where we are known, and only protest against this disposition to invade the State of New York, without any argument to justify it, without any crime that we have committed, without any reason that we have given, and force down the throats of a portion of the people a man against whose nomination we protest; while out in the State of Ohio stands a grand, colossal public figure, which will move before the Democratic party throughout this contest, if he be selected as the nominee, as the pillar of fire moved before the children of Israel in the dark, and will light you along the path which leads to victory, and will discover to your grateful and satisfied eyes, the White House, the ultimate goal of all Democratic effort, throughout this contest. Gentlemen, there is but one more question to which I think it proper to allude, and that is the old, old cry that has been repeated here ever since we came to Chicago, that Tammany Hall had opposed Tilden in 1876, and for that reason, all these leaders in the country must be ignored, in order that the man whom Tammany Hall opposes to-day shall be selected as the standard-bearer of the Democracy. I am told that Tammany Hall declared that the City of New York could not be carried for Tilden; but let me remind you, gentlemen of the Convention, that the boast was made in behalf of Gov. Tilden in 1876, that he could carry the State outside of the City of New York. That was the boast which was echoed right and left, east and west, up and down, through all the streets and by-ways of the City of St. Louis. It was against that boast that Mr. Kelly entered his solemn protest upon the platform of the hall where the Convention met. Now, what are the facts? Did Mr. Tilden carry

the State of New York as his henchmen boasted he could; as his supporters declared he could; as all these gentlemen who are to-day the henchmen of the candidate whom we oppose, declared that he could? He was defeated in the State of New York, outside of the County of New York, by 25,000 majority. It was the 55,000 majority which was given to him within that city that delivered the electoral vote of the State to the support of the grandest statesman of modern times. So that, since Mr. Kelly and Tammany hall were respectively the only Democratic leader and only Democratic organization within the City or County of New York during that year, it follows that if Mr. Kelly had chosen to fulfill his prophecy of disaster he might have done so, and that in delivering to Mr. Tilden the great vote which his organization rolled up for him, he showed that he preferred doing his duty as a good Democrat to saving his reputation as a prophet. But, gentlemen of the Convention, Mr. Cleveland is not Mr. Tilden. Let us but have a chance to name the man whose wrongs committed against himself as well as against the party have sent him into the great martyrology of the Democracy, and then all, without distinction of party, and then all, without distinction of faction, then all, without distinction of Tammany Hall or anti-Tammany Hall, will rise as one man and accept the nomination as a revelation from Providence, and the means of escaping all the disasters which threaten our footsteps. But the majority of the New York Delegation are to-day silent—silent although Lieut.-Gov. Hill declared last night in the meeting of the Texas Delegation—and I call the attention of those gentlemen here to verify the truth of what I say—that, although Mr. Tilden wrote his letter of 1880, had the Democratic Convention named him, he would have been willing to accept. And what assurance have we, if he were to be named now, that he would not be equally willing to accept? Are we to be deprived of our birthright and denied the privilege to do justice where justice ought to be done, because a few gentlemen in New York have chosen to wander away in search of false gods and to worship the golden calf? We, for our part, are still true, faithful to the traditions of the Democracy. We are faithful to principles. We are anxious for success. Since the majority of the Delegation prevent our naming Tilden, let us name the man who stands next to him in the eyes of the country, and in the eyes of the whole world. We have been told that the mantle of Tilden has fallen upon the shoulders of Cleveland. Gentlemen, when the mantle that fits the shoulders of a giant falls

on those of a dwarf, the result is disastrous to the dwarf. The shoulders of Mr. Cleveland cannot uphold that ample mantle. The shoulders of Allen G. Thurman can fill every crease, every fold and every part of that garment. Name him, gentlemen of the Convention, to the Democracy of this Nation ; go before the people with a plain purpose declared and established by your act which will give them confidence, now that you are asking them to trust you, with accomplishing a complete revolution in the public affairs of the country. Do not ask to have all the financial relations of this country, to have all the delicate questions of foreign and domestic policy, which must be disturbed and readjusted with the coming of the Democracy into power, subjected to the uncertain chances of what may happen if an untried man be chosen for the Presidency. Give us a statesman in whose life we can show to the people that reason for their confidence which is essential to success. Do not trust so much to availability, or to the mere getting of votes. Try, for God's sake, try to deserve the votes, and I am satisfied that the votes will come.

And, gentlemen, if these last few words of warning, which are perhaps to be the last that will come from New York to this Convention—if they be heeded, as I believe they will be—you will find that every element of contest will be stilled ; that although we may have been divided by the wild waves of factional tumult, as soon as the gavel of the Chairman declares the nomination made, we will become calm and placid as the bosom of a lake in Summer. Though we may have been divided before we entered these halls, we are but like the countless rivulets that go to make up a mighty stream, and which, though turbulent and violent while they are flowing in their separate courses, after they have passed the point of confluence, merge together and roll their united course to the sea in a majestic tide, all powerful in its strength, and resistless in its force. So with all these various conflicting elements of the party, divided by various preferences, divided by the hostilities of local factions, I believe, I implore, I pray and I trust to the wisdom of this Convention, that they will go out of these doors united in a mighty mass, sweeping on in its path to victory, resistless by reason of its very purpose, and grand by reason of the leadership which will be chosen by the body of this Convention. Then there will be no reason to fear any religious question ; then will there be no reason to fear any labor question disturbing the plans and the harmony of the campaign. The moment that the choice is made, the choice which I have sug-

gested—as being the best which could be chosen after Gov. Tilden's declination—I believe that you will hear but one prayer uttered throughout the length and breadth of the land, one prayer which will come alike from persons of every creed, and rise from houses of every description of worship ; one prayer which will ascend to heaven with the incense that is burned on the Catholic altar as well as with the orison that is breathed to God in the severer forms of worship adopted by other sects. It will be part of the liturgy of the Episcopalian, part of the invocation of the Methodist minister. It will mingle with the prayer that the Irish maiden will breathe to the Virgin at nightfall. And that prayer coming from so many thousands of hearts will be for the prosperity of our land. The prosperity of our land is involved in what this Convention will do. See to it, gentlemen, that you make no mistake by casting under the feet of mediocrity the golden prize that should be reserved for the contention of excellence. Treat the Presidency as a garland that will crown the brow that will be fit to wear it ; and it is with the humblest and most complete confidence in the wisdom of this Convention that I suggest the grand old statesman from Ohio, Allen G. Thurman, as the one upon whom its choice should fall.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from New York, Mr. E. K. Apgar, has the floor. I desire to state that Mr. Apgar will probably make, in brief remarks, the last speech that will be heard, as I understand it, from New York, on this question. I desire to add that Mr. Apgar's voice is somewhat wearied with much use, and he requests of the galleries if they do not hear him readily, that they will be patient that he may be heard by the Convention.

MR. E. A. NOONAN, of Missouri: I simply want to know whether this is a session of the New York Delegation at Albany, or whether we are here for the purpose of attending to business in the City of Chicago. We are tired of this thing.

THE CHAIR: The gentlemen is not in order. We shall be sooner through by keeping silent.

ADDRESS OF HON. EDGAR K. APGAR, OF NEW YORK.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I pray your indulgence for the briefest possible period while I speak in behalf of the large majority of the New York Delegation, which, by a vote of sixty-one to eleven, instructed the Chairman of our Delegation to present to this Convention the name of Grover Cleveland



for nomination for President of the United States. I shall make no detailed argument. I desire merely to recall to your minds another scene than this, but one strikingly similiar in its features. Eight years ago I sat with the New York Delegation in the great Exposition Building in the City of St. Louis, when the New York Delegation there presented to that Convention the name of Samuel J. Tilden to be the nominee for President of the United States. Then, as now, a minority of the Delegation resisted at every step that nomination. Then, as now, the leader of the organization which these two gentlemen have represented—then, as now, the leader of that organization took the platform and told you that Mr. Tilden could not by any possibility carry the State of New York; that his majority, owing to the opposition of Tammany Hall, owing to the opposition of the labor element, owing to other oppositions, that Mr. Tilden's majority in the City of New York would be so cut down that it would be hopeless for him to try to carry the State. That Convention, in its wisdom, disregarded the advice of these gentlemen and placed Mr. Tilden in nomination. What was the result? In the very City of New York, where these gentlemen had predicted the principal defection, Mr. Tilden received a majority of 55,000.

The circumstances are not changed. Mr. Tilden was Governor of the State. So is Mr. Cleveland. Mr. Tilden had been made Governor because of his connection with municipal reform. So has Mr. Cleveland. Mr. Tilden was nominated to the Presidency because his two years as Governor had commended him to the people of the whole United States. So has Mr. Cleveland's. Gentlemen, the situation is a simple one. For more than twelve years past the balance of power in the State of New York has been held by a large unattached vote, which belongs to neither political organization. We have in the State, probably, about 600,000 voters who will vote for the Democratic party nominee whom you may nominate. We have about 580,000 voters who will vote the Republican ticket under any and all circumstances. Now, outside of both these organizations there are a hundred thousand men in the State of New York who do not care a snap of their finger whether the Republican party or the Democratic party, as such, shall carry the election. They vote in every election according to the issues and the candidates presented. These men absolutely hold the control of the politics of New York in their hands. They are the balance of power. You must have their votes or you cannot win. Every time for ten years past when we have appealed to this element vic-



tory has perched upon our banners. When we have failed to do so defeat has come. These men unitedly, to a man, with a vast majority of the Democratic party represented by the Delegates of the Democratic party in this Convention, implore you to nominate to the office of President Mr. Tilden's successor, elected Governor for the same causes. They ask you to place him in nomination in order that all the elements opposed to the longer continuance of the Republican party in power may be united and make its defeat entirely certain.

MR. R. A. COLLINS, of Missouri: Mr. Chairman: The State of Missouri has adopted a very peaceful policy upon this floor, and they desire to be heard in seconding the nomination of a gentleman. They have desired me to present to this Convention Col. Mansur, who is a Delegate-at-large from that representative and proud State, to be heard upon this floor.

HON. JOHN C. JACOBS, of New York: I rise to a question of privilege, and I desire to be heard. I desire to remain no longer under the misrepresentations that have been cast upon me through the statements of the representatives of the majority of the Delegation from New York. I represent a district of the State of New York.

THE CHAIR: The Chair is of the opinion that that is not a question of privilege.

A DELEGATE, from California: He has been slurred and he has a right to throw back the slur.

SENATOR JACOBS: I rise on behalf of those I represent—the largest representation from the State of New York.

THE CHAIR: The question of privilege is not allowed. The gentleman from Missouri has the floor.

SENATOR JACOBS: May I have an opportunity to speak after he gets through?

THE CHAIR: That is for the Convention. The gentlemen from Missouri asks leave to second a nomination, by Col. Mansur, a representative from that State. Unless there be objection leave is granted.

HON. J. M. PALMER, of Illinois: Will Mr. Mansur yield to me for a moment?

MR. MANSUR: Yes.

GOV. PALMER: This Convention has shown its patience, its fair-

ness, its candor, in listening to every gentleman that desired to present the claims of any candidate. May we not be relieved for an hour or an hour and a half?

THE CHAIR: It is at the pleasure of the Convention to make its own order. The Chair has entertained every parliamentary motion to suspend the order of the Convention.

GOV. PALMER: I have no desire to interfere with the gentleman from Missouri, but, if it will suit his convenience, we will come back gladly at half past seven or eight, and I therefore move that the proceedings be suspended until eight o'clock.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Illinois moves to suspend the order of business with a view of taking a recess until eight o'clock this evening. The motion is not debatable.

MR. CLUNIE, of California: We want a call of the States.

THE CHAIR: Are you the Chairman of the Delegation?

MR. CLUNIE: I am not the Chairman, but I desire to offer an amendment as to the time.

THE CHAIR: The Chairman of the Delegation represents the States on the call for a call of States.

MR. CLUNIE: We do not want a call of the States. We simply want to change the time of the resolution.

THE CHAIR: There is no resolution except to suspend the order of business. Gov. Palmer has the floor.

GOV. PALMER: I was about to say that I am so anxious not to interfere with my friend from Missouri that I withdraw it.

COL. MANSUR: I hope it will be entertained.

GOV. PALMER: I will renew it then.

THE CHAIR: The motion is to suspend the order of business with a view, after the order of business is suspended, of making a motion to take a recess to eight o'clock this evening. The question is not debatable.

MR. E. L. MARTIN, of Delaware: I move an amendment to that motion—that this Convention adjourn until eleven o'clock to-morrow morning.

THE CHAIR: The motion is not in order. The motion to suspend the order of business is the motion before the Convention.

HON. LEON ABBETT, of New Jersey: I ask on behalf of New Jersey for a call of the States.

THE CHAIR: New Jersey asks for a call of the States on the question.

MR. JON. L. MCKINNEY, of Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania seconds it.

MR. LA RUE, of California: California seconds it.

MR. MCGILVRAY, of Colorado: Colorado seconds it.

THE CHAIR: Colorado seconds it.

JOHN O'DAY, of Missouri: Missouri seconds the motion.

THE CHAIR: The call of States is seconded.

MR. HOUSE, of Tennessee: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIR: State your point of order.

MR. HOUSE: My point of order is this: The gentlemen from Delaware moved that this Convention adjourn until to-morrow at eleven o'clock. A motion to adjourn is always in order.

THE CHAIR: The Chair overruled that point of order at the time. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Illinois. The call of the States will proceed.

MR. G. V. MENZIES, of Indiana: I move to amend the motion.

THE CHAIR: The call of States has been begun. The order of the Convention will be executed.

GOV. PALMER, of Illinois: Mr. Chairman, may I be allowed to withdraw the motion?

THE CHAIR: The call of the States has begun.

The Clerk called the State of Alabama, and its vote was cast as 20 ayes. The State of Arkansas was called.

MR. SMITH M. WEED, of New York: If the motion had been withdrawn, why should we sit here twenty minutes to take a vote upon it? The gentlemen [Gov. Palmer] says he will withdraw it.

MR. JOSEPH B. MANN, of Illinois: Has not the mover of the proposition to suspend the order of business the right, with the consent of the Convention, to withdraw it?

THE CHAIR: Certainly.

MR. MANN: He offers to withdraw it.

THE CHAIR: It is objected to.

## THE ROLL-CALL.

The Clerk then proceeded with the call, as follows:

<i>States.</i>	<i>Yeas.</i>	<i>Nays.</i>	<i>States.</i>	<i>Yeas.</i>	<i>Nays.</i>
Alabama.....	20	..	Illinois.....	44	..
Arkansas.....	..	14	Indiana.....	30	..
California.....	16	..	Iowa.....	26	..
Colorado.....	6	..	Kansas.....	18	..
Connecticut.....	12	..	Kentucky.....	26	..
Delaware.....	4	2	Louisiana.....	16	..
Florida.....	8	..	Maine.....	12	..
Georgia.....	24	..			

A large number of the Delegates began to leave the hall, causing great confusion.

THE CHAIR: The gentlemen will please keep their seats. This is only upon the suspension of the order of business. It is not to take a recess.

The Secretary then proceeded with the call, with the following additional responses:

<i>States.</i>	<i>Yeas.</i>	<i>Nays.</i>	<i>States.</i>	<i>Yeas.</i>	<i>Nays.</i>
Maryland.....	16	..	Mississippi.....	18	..
Massachusetts.....	28	..	Missouri.....	32	..
Michigan.....	26	..	Nebraska.....	10	..
Minnesota.....	14	..	Nevada.....	6	..

MR. E. F. CULLERTON, of Illinois: I move that the further call of the roll of States be dispensed with.

MR. JOHN D. MCGILVRAY, of Colorado: I move we adjourn till eleven o'clock to-morrow.

THE Chair: The question is, shall the order of business be suspended?

The motion was carried.

MR. SMITH M. WEED, of New York: I move we take a recess till half past eight o'clock this evening.

GOV. PALMER, of Illinois: I trust the Convention will allow me to say a word. I desire to say that I have been informed by the officers of the Convention, those who are caring for our comfort, that it is absolutely necessary that they have a respite. I therefore move that this Convention adjourn until eleven o'clock to-morrow.

MR. CHARLES W. CONSTANTINE, of Ohio: I rise to a point of order. The motion to suspend was made for the purpose of moving to take a recess till eight o'clock this evening, and I appeal to the gentleman from Illinois [Gov. Palmer] whether that was not the motion.

THE CHAIR: The point of order the Chair believes to be well taken.

GOV. PALMER: I did not hear what the remark was.

THE CHAIR: The point of order is that the motion was to suspend the order of business for the purpose of a motion to take a recess until eight o'clock.

GOV. PALMER: I am inclined to think that the gentlemen is right. It must have been so understood. I therefore make that motion. I therefore withdraw my motion and make that which I think the gentlemen had a right to suppose would be made.

THE CHAIR: The question is upon the motion to take a recess until eight o'clock to-night. The Chair asks Delegates to take their seats, and he will endeavor to give them all a fair and impartial hearing.

MR. MCGILVRAY: I rise to make a parliamentary inquiry. Is it not pertinent here, sir, to offer an amendment to the resolution pending? I have offered an amendment, sir, and desire to have it put.

THE CHAIR: The Chair has not recognized you as making a motion because he has been endeavoring to get the motion of the gentleman from Illinois [Gov. Palmer] before the house.

MR. MCGILVRAY: I now offer an amendment that we adjourn till eleven o'clock.

MR. JOHN F. HOUSE, of Tennessee: What is the motion?

THE CHAIR: The motion of the gentleman from Illinois (Gov. Palmer) is to take a recess till eight o'clock.

MR. HOUSE: I move to amend by substituting half-past ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

GEN. CLUNIE, from California: I second your amendment, and I will appeal from the decision of the Chair if he decides your amendment out of order.

THE CHAIR: It is moved to amend by substituting half-past ten o'clock to-morrow.



MR. DENNIS SPENCER: I second the motion.

MR. CONSTANTINE: I make the same point of order. It was not so stated on the motion to suspend.

THE CHAIR: The Chair is of the opinion that the point of order is not well taken. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. House).

GOV. LEON ABBETT, of New Jersey: Upon that I call for the calling of the roll of States.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from New Jersey asks for a call of the States on that question. The Chair heard no second to the call of the States. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Tennessee to substitute half-past ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

The question was put, and the galleries voted.

THE CHAIR: The Chair heard so many voices from the gallery that he is unable to decide.

The question was put again, and the galleries voted as before.

THE CHAIR: The Chair is in doubt.

HON. M. J. MCCAFFERTY, of Massachusetts: I demand the call of the States.

HON. DENNIS SPENCER, of California: Mr. Menzies, of Indiana, and others seconded the call.

THE CHAIR: The call is seconded by five, and will be proceeded with.

The Clerk then began the roll-call. There were no responses from Alabama and Louisiana, the Delegates having left the hall. The call proceeded only as far as Rhode Island, when it became clear that the motion would be adopted.

MR. J. B. BROWN, of Indiana: Mr. Chairman, it is apparent that the motion will be carried, and for that reason I move to suspend the further call of the States.

The vote as far as taken was as follows :

	<i>Yeas.</i>	<i>Nays.</i>		<i>Yeas.</i>	<i>Nays.</i>
Alabama.....	..	..	Massachusetts.....	28	..
Arkansas.....	..	14	Michigan.....	..	26
California.....	16	..	Minnesota.....	12	4
Colorado.....	6	..	Mississippi.....	4	14
Connecticut.....	..	12	Missouri.....	29	3
Delaware.....	6	..	Nebraska.....	..	10
Florida.....	..	8	Nevada.....	6	..
Georgia.....	..	24	New Hampshire.....	8	..
Illinois.....	44	..	New Jersey.....	18	..
Indiana.....	30	..	New York.....	72	..
Iowa.....	8	10	North Carolina.....	..	..
Kansas.....	12	6	Ohio.....	46	..
Kentucky.....	21	5	Oregon.....	6	..
Louisiana.....	..	..	Pennsylvania.....	58	2
Maine.....	12	..	Rhode Island.....	..	8
Maryland.....	..	16			

THE CHAIR : The motion is to suspend the further call of the States.

The motion was adopted.

THE CHAIR : The question is then upon the motion to amend by substituting half-past ten o'clock as the time to which the Convention will adjourn.

The amendment was adopted.

THE CHAIR : The question recurs on the motion as amended to take recess until half-past ten to-morrow morning.

The motion was adopted, and at 6.18 P. M. the Convention adjourned until Thursday, July 10, at 10.30 A. M.

## THIRD DAY.

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### MORNING SESSION.

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CHICAGO, July. 10, 1884.

The Convention was called to order by the Chairman at 11 o'clock A. M., in the following words :

The Convention will be in order. Gentlemen will take their seats. The proceedings of the day will begin by prayer offered by the Rev. Dr. Geo. C. Lorimer, of Immanuel Baptist Church of Chicago. The Convention will please rise.

#### PRAYER.

We praise Thee, O God; we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord. The whole earth doth praise Thee, the Father everlasting. Thou art God of gods and King of nations. Thou liftest up one and bringest down another, and however the lot is cast into the lap the disposing thereof is with Thee. Vouchsafe unto us this day Thy blessing. Pity us in Thy all-mercifulness and comfort us with Thine almightiness, and inspire us to render unto Thee this morning the sincere tribute of our homage. We thank Thee for our country, where liberty hath found a refuge, where labor hath found an opportunity, where domestic virtue hath found a shield, and where humanity hath found a temple. We thank Thee that Thou hast granted unto us in Thy providence the blessings of freedom—free religion, free speech, free thought, with all other blessings necessary to adorn the character of freemen and to render their lives happy; and we look to Thee this morning and entreat Thee to continue Thy loving favor toward our land. Awake the Nation to

realize that not in material prosperity nor in wealth lie greatness and salvation, but in those virtues and in those great principles which are enunciated in Thy Word and which have been echoed down to us along the centuries. We pray Thee that in this country liberty may never degenerate into license; nor authority into tyranny; nor capital into oppression; nor labor into riotousness; nor religion into bigotry or superstition; but here may we find that Thou art guiding us in all things, that we may be a united, a happy, and a prosperous people.

Let Thy blessings now rest upon this Convention assembled. Grant that the high sentiments and noble principles which fell from the lips of speakers yesterday may become the governing principles of this great party, shaping its policy and illuminating the lives of its members; and we pray Thee that Thou wilt so order their affairs to-day that he who may be chosen as their nominee may be a man of lofty character, of resplendent reputation, of unblemished name, whose attitude before the public shall be an inspiration to the growing manhood of our people, and we entreat Thee that if Thou shalt order his election that he may be a blessing to this great Nation, and not a scourge.

And so do Thy will in the hearts of mankind, guiding and leading in Thy wise providence. And when toil and labor have ceased below, receive us to Thyself, through the mercy and grace of Christ Jesus our Lord, unto whom, with Thee the Father and the Holy Spirit, will we render honor, dominion and praise forevermore. Amen.

THE CHAIR: The Chair desires to say in the beginning of the exercises of to-day that he trusts that there will be no interruption from outside the body of the Delegates.

HON. CARTER H. HARRISON, of Illinois: Mr. Chairman, I rise to a question of privilege.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Harrison) has the floor.

MR. HARRISON: Mr. Chairman, I rise to a question of privilege, which I think I owe to myself, to the City of Chicago, and to its police. It was charged yesterday, or intimated in a speech from a Delegate, who I knew did it in hot words, that "the gentleman from Illinois, whose appearance on this platform was greeted, I believe, by a large recruiting of the persons in the galleries, to whom the doors were thrown open by the act of his police."

I wish to say, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, when in the name of Chicago, last February, I invited this Convention here, I promised fair dealing, I meant it, and our people are carrying it out.

I wish to say further that, so far from any recruiting being done, because I had the honor to second the nomination of Grover Cleveland, no human being knew, outside of this hall, that I was going to do it; that it was not known to myself until in this hall, and that had I known that I was going to speak impromptu my modesty would have prevented me from speaking.

It has been said through the papers this morning that holes were cut into the building. I heard that Chicago enterprise did cut a hole, and probably a dozen got in, and our police checked it; and I have the assurance of the Sergeant-at-Arms that the police have given him full and entire assistance on every occasion. I want to say further, that, as Mayor of Chicago, I received four tickets, and as a Delegate I received four. Five of them were back in that hole—(indicating an undesirable location in the hall)—and I bought two tickets to give members of my family a decent seat. So that you see the Convention is managed by its officers; the police obey these officers and endeavor to preserve order; and the name of Chicago will go from here as true, and that what we promised we have fulfilled.

MR. J. J. FENTON, of Maryland: Mr. Chairman, I offer a resolution which I will send to the Clerk's desk to be read.

THE CHAIR: The Chair observes that there is a hum of conversation through the hall that will make it impossible for any speaker to be heard, and he hopes that every individual will observe the propriety of the occasion and thus make it better for all.

Mr. B. T. Du Val, of Arkansas, presented a communication from the Committee on Resolutions.

THE CHAIR: The Committee on Resolutions desires to make a communication to the Convention, which will be read by the Clerk.

The Clerk read the communication as follows:

*To the Chairman of the  
National Democratic Convention:*

The Committee on Resolutions respectfully report to the Convention that, notwithstanding constant sessions in the consideration of



the matters referred to the Committee, they are yet unable to present to the Convention the completed platform; and that it is not probable that the Committee will be able to make such final report before seven o'clock this evening; and the Committee therefore ask leave to sit during such session of the Convention as may be held to-day. Respectfully,

MALCOLM HAY,  
*Acting Chairman.*

From the Committee-room, July 10, 1884.

Mr. J. M. PALMER, of Illinois: Mr. Chairman, I move that leave be granted.

The motion was carried.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Maryland, Mr. Fenton, offers a resolution, which will be read by the Clerk.

It was as follows :

*“Resolved, By this Convention, that the various Democratic political organizations, designated by badge or other distinctive emblem, in attendance upon this Convention, that have not been supplied with tickets be permitted to enter the galleries during the session of the Convention.”*

Mr. J. B. MANN, of Illinois: A point of order.

THE CHAIR: The Convention will listen to the point of order by the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MANN: At the time the recess was taken there was a suspension of the call of the States for the purpose of making nominations. The call was suspended for the purpose of moving a recess and for that alone. My point of order is, that the only business now in order is a continuation of the call of the States.

THE CHAIR: The point of order of the gentleman from Illinois is sustained. The Chair was about to make the same ruling on the resolution of the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. W. H. SOWDEN, of Pennsylvania: I offer this resolution and ask that action upon it be deferred until the unfinished business carried forward from yesterday be first disposed of.

Mr. SPENCER, of California: One moment.

Mr. HOUSE, of Tennessee: I call for the regular order.

Mr. SOWDEN: Mr. Prince has the resolution.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Sowden, offers the following resolution, which will be read.

THE READING CLERK read as follows: Offered by Mr. William H. Sowden, of Pennsylvania:

*"Resolved, That the Committee on Platform be and the same is hereby instructed to print one thousand copies of their report as soon as agreed to, all for use and distribution among the delegates of this Convention."*

THE CHAIR: The resolution is out of order at this time and cannot be entertained.

MR. DENNIS SPENCER, of California: Mr. Chairman, I want to remind the Chair that the gentleman from Missouri had the platform when we adjourned last evening.

THE CHAIR: I remember it.

MR. HOUSE, of Tennessee: Mr. Chairman, I presume the resolution of the gentleman from Pennsylvania will be adopted by unanimous consent. The platform ought to be printed for the use of the Convention. I ask unanimous consent to pass the resolution.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent to suspend the order of business to consider the resolution of the gentleman from Pennsylvania. Is there any objection?

MR. ORESTES CLEVELAND, of New Jersey: Mr. Chairman, I move an amendment to that—that in case the Committee disagree and there is to be presented here a majority and a minority report, both reports may be printed and circulated at the same time.

MR. SOWDEN: I accept the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey.

THE CHAIR: The amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey is accepted by the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

MR. HOUSE: Mr. Chairman, I would suggest to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, if he will allow me, to make the number 2,000 instead of 1,000.

MR. SOWDEN: I will accept that suggestion also.

THE CHAIR: The amendment offered by the gentleman from Tennessee is accepted.

MR. J. STODDARD JOHNSTON, of Kentucky: Mr. Chairman, if in order, I have a resolution.

Mr. Johnston's resolution was sent to the desk.

THE CHAIR: The resolution by the gentleman from Kentucky is not germane.

Mr. Johnston's resolution, although not read, was as follows:

*"Resolved, That unless the New York Delegation desire to further enlighten the Convention on their domestic dissensions we now proceed with the nominations."*

THE CHAIR: The house has given unanimous consent to the consideration of the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania. As that stands amended it is that the Committee on Resolutions be instructed to print 2,000 copies of their report, and if there be two reports, 2,000 copies of each. Is the Convention ready for the question? (The resolution, as amended, was adopted.) The regular order of business is the call of the roll of the States; and the gentleman from Missouri, who occupied the platform at the time of the recess, is entitled to it now—Gen. Charles H. Mansur, of Missouri. Gen. Mansur is suffering from hoarseness, and desires that you give him the aid of perfect silence.

ADDRESS OF GEN. CHARLES H. MANSUR, OF MISSOURI.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE DEMOCRACY IN NATIONAL COUNCIL ASSEMBLED: Permit me, as a prelude, to state that you observe my voice is under very bad control. Ordinarily I have to say that I believe that I could make every person in this vast hall hear me, but I do ask the indulgence of the gentlemen present that they give me as perfect silence as possible.

Missouri, situated midway between ocean and ocean, half-way between the Gulf and the Lakes, the fifth State in the Union, has honored me with a trust as one of her Delegates-at-Large to be performed in this Convention, and Missouri, which entered the Union about the same time as the State of Maine, where the so-called "Plumed Knight" resides, is to-day under Democratic rule; the fifth State in the Union, with fourteen members—a solid Delegation—fighting for democracy in the halls of Congress, and two and a half millions of people within her border, with a unanimity unseen and unknown in the world, her united Democratic population stands as one man in favor of the "old ticket." And, animated by that feeling, we would have had thirty-two stalwart Democrats who would from now to the ides of November be working for the old

ticket, headed by the Sage of Gramercy and our venerated friend from Indiana.

It is useless to say what we all know, that they have declined. Under this attitude, and for one, as I reverence the Ruler of the Universe, as I announce an unswerving devotion to the party for which I have battled for twenty years, I cast about to see who was the man that in this emergency should lead the embattled hosts of the Democracy to a grand and glorious victory. I assume right here that, in the light of the condition of affairs in the Nation, nothing short of a blunder that is worse than a crime before God and before man can lose us the election. With twenty-five Democratic States, with twenty-five Democratic Governors, with twenty-three Legislatures to-day that, according to the last election, when they were elected, were Democratic, representing 253 Electoral votes out of the 401, I insist that nothing but a fatal blunder can lose us the election. With an eye single to that, as the Polar Star to guide me, I have considered the situation with whatever judgment on the one hand, or intellect on the other, God has given me. This I now state to New York, Connecticut, New Jersey and Indiana, as the four States that are to determine the next election, hearing all, visiting all, I reached the conclusion yesterday noon, satisfactory to myself, that the man that I now name is the one that can most assuredly give peace and harmony to the distracting elements here and lead us on to victory. The gentleman that I shall name reminds me of an olden saying, when it was said that to be a "Roman citizen was greater than to be a king." Aye, the man I have in mind has been declared time and again here to be the noblest Roman of them all. When I looked for the first time, day before yesterday, into that rugged countenance, stamped all over with an unswerving honesty, looked underneath the leonine brow and saw the eye that gave inlet to the piercing intellect there enthroned, I knew that I was in the presence of the Bismarck of America. Twelve years of experience in the Senate of the Union, with a record of which his friends say that to-day he has not to apologize for one single vote; great as a lawyer; with a piercing intellect that analyzes and exposes all fallacies and sophisms; great as a jurist, to weigh everything and to determine what is right; greater still as a statesman—I second the nomination of Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio.

A VOICE: Three cheers for Thurman.

THE CHAIR: The Sergeant-at-Arms and assistants and officers of

police will immediately take out of the house any person who calls from the galleries after the Convention is in order.

GEN. MANSUR: I have yet to hear, outside of the name of this gallant and grand character, the name of any one candidate so far who puts forth or whose friends put forth the claim that he can carry the State of Ohio. The objections, it is said, to nominating Mr. Thurman are three-fold in character; naught against character; naught against intellect; naught against a pure record; naught against the fact that he is a colossal Democrat to-day, of whom I am authorized by men in the Ohio Delegation to declare that so late as the close of last year Conkling, the superb Republican of the Nation, declared that he was the Democrat over and above all others. As a Democrat, he was one of the seven Senators on the floor from the Northern States during the reconstruction era, who fought all the vigorous measures of despotism and led the way to the enfranchisement of the down-trodden and oppressed Southern States. Do you men of the South believe that Conkling loves the "Plumed Knight"? Do you believe that this language of the Stalwart Republican, Conkling, will fail to enthuse the Independent Republicans to come to the support of the man, the hero, whom Conkling declares is the best on the other side?

Now, I think there is nothing in the objection that he comes from an October State, because of the fact that, as I believe after Tilden, if this Democratic assemblage was to be asked who is the grandest Democrat living to-day in American history, instinctively your hearts would leap to your lips, and the declaration go forth "Thurman, of Ohio."

It is said the second objection is a divided Delegation. I am authorized by a committee of Thurman's friends from the Ohio Delegation, to declare that no issue was made in that State. I am authorized to declare that by a vote of about 500 out of 700, amid plaudit and huzza, he was sent to this Convention as a Delegate-at-Large. I am authorized to declare that there has not been one single county that passed resolutions declaring against Thurman. I am, furthermore, authorized to declare that there are at least, voluntarily, one thousand of the Ohioans here in the city at work for him. I am further authorized to declare, as this committee of gentlemen believe, that there are not fifty here at work for Mr. Hoadly. I am also further authorized to declare that they have received 1,000 telegrams declaring victory in Ohio in the event that Thurman is nominated. I am also further authorized to declare that



every German daily paper in Ohio, including telegrams received last night from the *Daily Volksblatt*, a leading Republican paper of the State, will support Allen G. Thurman. I am authorized to say that the 20,000 Germans send pledges in this way, who followed Mr. Hoadly to victory two years ago; that they will do the same this year for Mr. Thurman.

The third objection is that, it is said, his nomination would precipitate a conflict between capital and labor. I went to call on Tammany two days ago. I had an interview; I do not know all who were present. Gen. Spinola was present; Mr. Cockran, the gentleman who addressed you last evening, was present. They said Thurman could carry New York. I said to them, "It is said that his nomination, with his Pacific Railroad record, would precipitate a conflict between corporate wealth and Wall Street jobbery on the one hand, and labor and the Democracy on the other." With one voice they spoke up and said, "Let it come; on that issue New York is 100,000 on the side of labor." Now, on this occasion, I want to say to these Tammany gentlemen that if Thurman be nominated we expect of them, we demand of them, we exact of them, that they shall carry the State of New York for Thurman; if they do not, the blood of a murdered Democracy forever be on their garments.

My friends of Georgia, I am told that you were the first State that, when the ban of proscription was spread over the South, bowed beneath the yoke of bondage, and when you felt oppressed in the sight of Heaven because of the fact that you were stripped and bereft of your noblest right of all—the right of suffrage—that it was the measures introduced by this old Roman, in the Senate of the United States, that gave you the opportunity to rehabilitate yourselves and once more stand erect in the glorious image of God, enfranchised and free men. Now, if I understand the Southern character, it is always open to a generous appeal for the acknowledgment of a deserving act that uplifts you and enables you to spring forth as new men. This feeling in the South ought to make him powerful. But why need I further enlarge on the merits of this grand old man? Give him to us as our standard-bearer, and with no flaw in his record, with nothing to acknowledge, he will carry alike the West and the East.

The Chairman, as I passed up in the California Delegation, handed me this to be read.

The Clerk read the following telegrams:

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., July 9.

*To the Hon. Dennis Spencer,*

*Chairman of the California Delegation.*

Stand firm for Thurman. State Committee in session and send greeting, and promise, if nominated, 20,000 majority. No change in sentiment here.

WILLIAM D. ENGLISH, *Chairman.*

IRONTON, O.

*To the Hon. W. A. Hutchins,*

*of the Ohio State Delegation.*

Thurman is a granite platform himself. Stronger than any resolution, he will unify the party in Ohio and other States. No millionaire, or friend of stock exchange or monopoly. Ironton, O., says Thurman can carry the election this year.

(Signed) THREE THOUSAND DEMOCRATIC VOTERS.

GEN. MANSUR, continuing: Another thought and I have done. In this hour, this crucial hour of the Democracy, when before God the Democracy are hungry even unto death, not for the venal spoils of office, but for the grander and more glorious purpose of doing good to their fellow-beings, shall it be said that when the Democracy have met in Convention, when universally the hearts of all are with this man, as evidenced by the grand, growing swell of applause that appears at every mention of the honored name that I have presented to you, or reference to it, shall it be said that the Democracy have not the courage of their convictions and dare not do right? If you will appeal to the God that rules the universe and in His name nominate this man as a measure of right, because of his valued services, because of his grand intellect, because of the purity of his high and exalted character and the stern honesty of an entire life who can doubt that at the ides of November victory will perch upon the banners of Democracy, and that the next President of the United States will be installed as a Democrat.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I thank you. I have, in thus seconding the nomination, done it under the honest impulse of a heart as devoted, I trust, to Democracy and the love of country as any gentleman on the floor. And with his name, again I think there can be no failure, but a superb and grand victory.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Missouri.

MR. A. H. LIVINGSTON: I do not desire to make a speech, but by direction of the Chairman of the Missouri Delegation, and upon behalf of a majority of the Delegation, I simply desire, Sir, to second the nomination of Grover Cleveland, of New York.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman will pause a moment while the Chair states the position of Missouri. Gen. Mansur, of Missouri, was permitted to second the nomination of Mr. Thurman, after the State was called, by unanimous consent, and no other second from the State of Missouri can be admitted except by unanimous consent.

MR. LIVINGSTON: We have got our work in any way. It is all right.

THE CHAIR: So far there was unanimous consent.

MR. LIVINGSTON: I didn't want to make a long speech.

A. F. HARRINGTON, of Missouri: Harrington, of Missouri, desires to state, in behalf of the minority of the Missouri Delegation, that we claim the privilege——

THE CHAIR: You are not in order.

MR. HARRINGTON: Of seconding the nomination of Thomas F. Bayard.

THE CHAIR: The call of the States will proceed.

When Ohio was called, John R. McLean, of Ohio, said:

Ohio asks that permission be granted Gen. Thomas E. Powell to present the name of the Hon. George Hoadly, of Ohio.

THE CHAIR: The Hon. Thomas E. Powell, of Ohio.

#### ADDRESS OF THE HON. THOMAS E. POWELL, OF OHIO.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: The auspicious omens with which we are to-day surrounded clearly indicate that the time which is to mark the final overthrow of the Republican party is now at hand. If this Convention shall be true to itself, faithful to its party, judicious in its platform, and wise in its candidates, our success in the coming struggle is already assured. As we enter upon such a contest, wisdom demands that he who is to be our leader shall be able to win the first great engagement of the campaign and if possible settle it in October. In a few weeks this whole Nation will be anxiously watching the vanguards of the party

as they struggle for victory and supremacy in Ohio. He who doubts the courage, the patriotism, and the ultimate success of Democracy there, has forgotten the brilliant record of that great State. At her admission Ohio ranked as the sixteenth State; to-day she stands the third State in the Union. In that brief period in the great race of life, in wealth and population, Ohio has already passed thirteen of her sister States. Her progress in your cause has been still more marvelous. Within a few years she has overthrown and destroyed forever a Republican majority of upwards of 100,000, and in its stead in two successive campaigns she has recorded large majorities in favor of your candidates and to the credit of your cause. At this hour her whole Government and all her destinies are in the keeping of your great party.

The man who has been the acknowledged leader in the redemption of that State, as well as one of the foremost citizens in all her borders, is the candidate we now present to the thoughtful consideration of this Convention, Gov. George Hoadly, of Ohio.

Our hope in him rests not upon faith, but upon recorded history and accomplished facts. As a candidate he has never been defeated at the polls. In the memorable contest of last year, upon a full vote, and when Ohio was fighting the first fight in their Presidential contest, he received the largest indorsement ever given to a Democrat in Ohio, receiving 19,000 more votes than your great leader of the last Presidential contest, the soldier statesmen, Winfield Scott Hancock. George Hoadly is known to the Nation as a great lawyer, as a wise statesman, as a fearless and aggressive leader. He is a man of acknowledged ability, of undoubted integrity, a man of courage as well as of wisdom. His whole public and private life is without a stain and without a scandal. Whenever and wherever he has been tried he has been found stronger than his party and as pure as his cause. He has been the chosen advocate of our party in denouncing and condemning the great fraud of 1876. Since that day up to this hour George Hoadly has been the friend and confidential adviser, and to-day would make a worthy successor, of that last but illustrious Democratic President, Samuel J. Tilden. Under his banner we can save Ohio to ourselves in October, and give it to you in November. Under his leadership Ohio can enter the race for the crowning glory at the polls. She can unite with all her sisters in making her borders the hearthstone of free institutions and the central home of Democracy for this great Union. Under him Ohio can strike the first successful blow in that victory which, under the

providence of God, will commit 50,000,000 of people to the protection of our great party.

The Clerk then proceeded to call the roll of States. When Pennsylvania was called .

MR. J. L. KINNEY, of Pennsylvania, said: The State of Pennsylvania has a candidate to place in nomination, and has requested Senator William A. Wallace to present his name to this Convention.

THE CHAIR: The Hon. William A. Wallace, of Pennsylvania.

ADDRESS OF HON. WILLIAM A. WALLACE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: By direction of the Pennsylvania Delegation I arise to nominate to the Democracy of the Republic here assembled a candidate for President of the United States.

The name I give you is found upon every page of your country's and your party's history for two decades. It is that of no untried tyro in political affairs.

In the prime and vigor of his matured manhood, with every faculty trained in practical government, an official life of twenty years lies behind him, clear, luminous and pure. No dishonest action no corrupt practices have stained his escutcheon, and whilst most of his contemporaries in public life have grown rich through devious and unknown ways, he is still a poor man, whose highest aim has been to fitly serve his people and the Republic.

Democrats, the hour has struck for the nomination of a Democrat, grounded in the faith and tried in the stern crucible of his party's service. The pathway of expediency is strewn with the wrecks of our failures. Let us be honest now. Let us stand by the record of our own pure, public men. Let us boldly appeal to the people upon that record and spurn the delusive promises of our erstwhile bitter foes.

The name of such a man we bring you. His practiced hand, experienced foresight and conversance with public affairs, will build the foundations of your return to power so broad and deep that they will be permanent. He has been practically the leader of his party during twelve years in the National House of Representatives, and his career there has been of vast public benefit.

Favoring a reduction of taxation and an economical administration of the Government, he has, with skill and success, resisted lavish



expenditures of the public moneys, waste of the public domain and unconstitutional and tyrannical Force bills. His iron will has put the knife to corrupting extravagance, and he has given us comparative purity of administration.

Earnest in purpose, pure in life, a trained tribune of the people, and a thorough statesman :

“No favor sways him, and no fear can awe.”

This man, her son, Pennsylvania presents to you as her candidate for President of the United States, in the person of Samuel J. Randall, the great Commoner.

HON. ORESTES CLEVELAND, of New Jersey: When on the call of the roll of the States the State of New Jersey was called she was silent. But on behalf of a portion of the Delegation from New Jersey it is desired that Gov. Abbett of that State shall now second the nomination of the Hon. Samuel J. Randall, and I respectfully ask from this Convention unanimous consent for that seconding.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from New Jersey asks unanimous consent that Gov. Abbett of that State be permitted to second the nomination of Samuel J. Randall. Unless objection is heard consent will be given. The Chair hears no objection, and Gov. Abbett has the permission of the Convention.

#### ADDRESS OF HON. LEON ABBETT, OF NEW JERSEY.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: The great body of the people of the United States to-day believe that if wisdom governs the counsels——

(A stentorian voice in the east gallery here interrupted the speaker by calling out “Lou—der-r-r,” in a long-drawn-out drawl that convulsed the entire Convention—Delegates, audience, and all—with laughter. The interrupter, encouraged by the good-humor of the Convention, repeated the call in the same manner, and it was some minutes before order could be restored.)

Gov. Abbett, resuming: That reminds me of something that a great statesman once said, when interrupted by a cry of that kind—that he believed that in the great day of judgment, when Gabriel rang his trumpet over the world, some jackass would shout “Louder.”

But to return to the solemn duties of this hour, I say that there is in every portion of this mighty land a feeling that if wisdom con-

trols the counsels of the Democratic party in making a platform broad enough for every Democrat to stand upon, and a candidate of transcendent ability, with a pure life and a Democratic record, to place upon it, that success lies in the result of your deliberations. I do not say that in the list of the great names presented to this Convention it is not possible to elect any one of them, but I do say this—that it is certain within all reasonable limits that you can elect some far more easily than you can others; that there are elements of weakness about some men in those States where it will be necessary to secure an Electoral vote in order to gain this contest; and it is for us, sitting in solemn and deliberate judgment, to weigh the different great names presented to this Convention, to select from among them a man who can certainly lead us to victory. I believe, gentlemen, that we are all here willing, nay anxious, to give our ballot to the man who is the strongest. We differ, as members of Democratic Conventions have time and again differed, as to the relative strength and merits in a fight of this kind between the different contestants, and it is to present to you to-day the reasons that influence my judgment and the judgment of a majority of the delegates from New Jersey in selecting the name of Samuel J. Randall as their choice that I now speak.

I believe that he will secure the votes of that portion of this Republic in the pivotal States with more certainty of success than any other gentleman named. And in making this statement I do not for one moment desire to be considered as a man who does not appreciate the great and noble old Thurman, of Ohio, or the pure and chivalric Bayard, of Delaware, or who does not appreciate even—although I differ with him in some things—that gallant Democrat of Kentucky, Mr. Carlisle. Nay, more than that, I appreciate the service that Grover Cleveland has rendered. And I say this—that whatever name this Convention shall inscribe on the Democratic banner, little New Jersey, always true, will be found in the front. I do not feel that it is necessary to eulogize my State in this Convention. In any Democratic Convention in this land it will be recognized as the only State that during the War, as well as after it, was true to the principles of Democracy.

But, gentlemen of the Convention, the question is, who has the surest elements of success? It is not in this hall where the friends of candidates are seated, where the different adherents of each gentleman are ready to proclaim their fealty and allegiance, but it is way out upon the prairie and in the great cities—it is in the great land

—that this battle is to be fought out. It is to be fought out at the polls between two great parties nearly equally divided. And where is the battle to be won? Is it to be won in Minnesota? Is it to be won in Iowa? Is it to be won in any of the States where it is impossible to secure a Democratic Electoral vote? What is the use of knowing what the will of the people is in those States? I appeal to you to unite on the man who will sweep the Union, and then you have a chance to regenerate your States. Is it necessary to select a candidate who will secure the votes of the great South? Why, they tell us upon this platform that there will be 153 votes from the South for any candidate nominated by this Convention; and why? Because there it is a battle for life. It is a battle for constitutional rights. It is a battle for life, and any pure, honest Democrat is good enough for them. Where then do you wish to mass your strength? Is it not in those States which Samuel J. Tilden carried in 1876, and which I believe Samuel J. Randall could carry in 1884? If the great South stands, as she stood in the past, with New York, and New Jersey, and Connecticut, you can carry the election. You could carry it with New York and Indiana if you were sure of both. Why, then, are not those States the ones for our deliberations as to the man who is the strongest and the best to put forward there?

As I believe, the great contest before this Convention, apparently, will be whether the gentleman presented by two-thirds of the Delegation, and under their unit rule by the seventy-two votes of New York, is not such a man. It is upon the ground of his availability, of his power to carry that and other States, that his candidacy is based. And now I appeal to this Convention whether or not there is any element in the candidate of the State of New York, as presented by them, that the candidate that I name is not stronger in, and that other great names that have been mentioned are not equally strong in? What has been the argument? It was stated from this platform that the cry would be, "Cleveland and reform." Reform in what? Why, municipal reform. They attempted to liken his Administration to the great Administration of Mr. Tilden, and in so far as it affected municipal reform I am not prepared to say one word about it to-day. But I say that Mr. Tilden represented not only municipal reform, not only the destruction of a corrupt ring in the City of New York, but the destruction of a corrupt canal ring throughout the State, and that, throughout the whole length and body of the State, he represented reform. But now they say that their candidate represents reform, and he ought to be selected

because he is most sure to win. They say that he is a pure, an able, and an honest man. Pure? Is not Thurman pure? Is not Bayard pure? Is not Carlisle pure? Able? Are not these great names that have been presented to this Convention as able, as powerful in intellect as the candidate of the State of New York? Nobody gainsays it. They have the record of years of public service, and we are asked to set aside these grand old monuments of Democratic faith and love for a gentleman who does not exceed them in integrity, in honesty, or in ability.

Why? Because he represents the cause of municipal reform. Why, gentlemen of the Convention, if New York were united, if she stood as a unit, if every Democratic vote in it were here to-day saying that the men they represented wanted this thing—which is not true, —but if it were true, if it were true, if there were perfect unity in that State, let me ask you to compare upon the platform of reform the candidate they present and the candidate that I have the honor of seconding to-day. Let us admit, for the sake of this argument, that Gov. Cleveland is the embodiment of municipal reform, and that he has received the sanction and will receive the sanction of the people of that State for what he has done; let us admit that every act of his with reference to that has secured the unanimous approval of all the Democrats—it has not, but let us admit it; I ask you to turn to the record of Samuel J. Randall and his twenty-one years of public life, a record that is pure and stainless; a poor boy of Philadelphia, Congressman for twenty-one years, and not a blot upon his personal, his private, or his public record. Why, in the Thirty-ninth Congress, when there were but thirteen Democrats in there in the year 1863—from then up to the present time where has he been? Has he been on the side of corruption? Will you remember—I think it was the Forty-fourth Congress—when as Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations he cut down the expenses \$40,000,000, and although a Republican Senate endeavored to keep them at the old figures he secured a reduction of \$30,000,000? Is not that reform? When an attempt was made in the early days to put through that odious Force bill, which would have ground down the lives of the men of the South, that would have laid at the feet of Federal power those great States, where was Samuel J. Randall but battling for constitutional rights? Turn to the last Congress, and who has cut down your appropriation? Who has stood like a sentinel against this modern doctrine of squandering the public money?—Samuel J. Randall.

Reform? Reform? What is reform in the City of New York? It is reform throughout this great and glorious Republic of thirty-eight States? If you want to nominate a candidate that shall stand for pure government, economical government in the hands of an honest man, nominate Samuel J. Randall, and you have that man. Can he carry the pivotal States? I tell you that he can sweep throughout New Jersey as a political cyclone. I tell you that in the great State of New York he meets no factional fight.

In the great State of New York I ask you to recall the contest of four years ago. I ask you to remember during the last month or six weeks of that canvass. What was the issue in the great State of New York? It was the tariff issue; and on that issue your candidate was defeated in that mighty State. I say that with the principle of the candidate I name, which is tax reform that shall wipe out all surplus revenue, and that within the limits—within the revenue limits—it shall be used to guard and protect the rights of the workingmen. And they say that will hurt him—hurt him in New York; hurt him in Pennsylvania; hurt him in New Jersey. But does any man here know the thousands of workshops there, the factories, the mills, the furnaces? Does he know the hundreds of thousands of mechanics in those States? Does he know that Samuel J. Randall there is believed to be a friend of those men? And when you add to that that he is their friend, and they feel it and believe it, the fact that he is a pure and an honest man, a life-long Democrat, always battling for its principles, I say that this Convention, in my deliberate judgment, can do no better than nominate Samuel J. Randall for the Presidency.

THE CHAIR: The call of the roll will proceed.

The Reading Clerk then proceeded with the call of the roll.

When Rhode Island was called Mr. Chas. H. Page of that State arose and said: Rhode Island has no candidate to offer.

HON. J. G. ABBOTT, of Massachusetts—Mr. Chairman: When Massachusetts' name was called at the regular call of the roll on Wednesday she presented no name. I now desire, in behalf of a majority of their Delegation, to ask the consent of the Convention that a Delegate from that State, the Hon. Mr. Cummings, may second the nomination of Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware.

THE CHAIR: The State of Massachusetts asks unanimous con-



sent that a Delegate from that State may be heard to second a nomination. The Chair hears no objection. The Hon. John W. Cummings, of Massachusetts.

ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN W. CUMMINGS, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW DEMOCRATS OF THE CONVENTION: I beg your hearing patiently but for a few moments. It may be, indeed that you are already wearied with the speeches of gratulation and laudation that have been made from this platform. We of Massachusetts came here believing that with her favored son we could carry that State for the Democratic party in the National election; and we are equally sure that there is still another name that may be called that can place Massachusetts once more in the ranks of the States that shall give their votes for the nominee of this Convention and regenerate and restore her to the Democratic party. For sixty years Massachusetts has not given her Electoral vote to the Democratic nominee. It may be, indeed, that in this Convention she, least of all, should be heard forcing a candidate upon the Convention; but we know, we who know the feelings of our State and have watched her growth, who have seen her take her place in the ranks of the Democratic party in 1882—we know that the toilers of the State—in a majority of the voters to-day—and the Anti-Monopolists of the State side by side with them, walking in the ranks of the Democratic party, can, if you take the name of the man that Massachusetts Democrats will follow to the end, Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, restore the State.

Gentlemen of the Convention, we hear from the South that her Electoral vote will go for the nominee of this Convention. And the gentleman who preceded me said that any decent, honest Democrat was good enough for them. Not so. The South has kept the faith unflinching and unflinchingly. But it must be seen to that no Democratic Convention commits itself to a nomination or a nominee that will, in the slightest degree, imperil those States in the future. We are not here for this day alone, nor for this generation. The best man that the Democrats can give will be none too good to carry the banner of Democracy, and none too pure or high for the Democracy of the South. And pure and high and exalted as the nominee of this Convention can be, in those attributes he never can be more so, no one can be more so, than Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware.

We come to place the garment of success upon our nominee. It

must not be a rent and tattered garment as New York presents. It must be a whole, entire, and spotless garment of victory. We of Massachusetts, voting as we please, and for whom we please, and not simply a majority, but almost the entire Delegation, will vote for Thomas F. Bayard. We, I say, voting of our free choice—not simply here with a voice, but with a vote as well ; not with our hands tied ; not enslaved ; not crushed down ; and then given a man, and forced to fight for him—we will take the nominee of the Convention, whoever he may be, and carry the State of Massachusetts surely, if he is Thomas F. Bayard.

Gentlemen of the Convention, in this solemn hour let us consider the attitudes of these candidates that call for our suffrage. Let us see the position that Delegates in this Convention are placed in when called upon to take these candidates. New York, with its great vote in this Convention, is found with a large fraction of it bound hand and foot ; enslaved in the Convention and misnamed “representatives.” They are not envoys ; they are not heralds ; they are slaves, speaking with the voice or the tongues of their masters. Gentlemen, you who wish to see the Democracy triumphant, can you believe that the representatives of New York sent here to represent their constituents ; and yet when they arrive, bound and riveted in this Convention, can go back as the slaves they are forced to be, and awaken any enthusiasm in their constituency or bring them back to the fold ?

Gentlemen of the Convention, the Democracy of my State cheerfully and anxiously will take any name that you may pronounce. We are not here divided ; we are here to fight to the end. We are not here degrading this great Convention with our State quarrels. New York, in the last three Conventions, has turned the Convention—almost upset the Convention—with quarrels and bickerings. This is not the place for them. Let them be relegated back to their own State. Let them take their slaves home with them. Take them back to your own State ; and come in here with clean hands and pure hearts ; come in here in peace ; and do not forever bring us war, with a candidate that means defeat.

Gentlemen of the Convention, I represent, from my State, a district made up of workingmen, of toilers that have steadily won battle after battle, until they have triumphed in their Democracy. Gentlemen, thrust upon us this man who has rent the garment of success in New York and we lose the State. Thrust him upon us——

(The Speaker was interrupted by hisses from the galleries.) Mr. Cummings continued as follows :

Ah ! gentlemen, who are here, as a distinguished citizen said yesterday, by the courtesy of this Convention, I am misnaming, I fear, some of you, with white hats, who dare to hiss where they would not dare to speak or strike.

We are here, we say, to take the name that this Convention shall pronounce, whatever name it may be. We who have looked since 1876 to the morning light ; we who watched victory slaughtered on the Democratic altar, still, with our eyes turned to the East, know that the name that shall be written upon it by this Convention shall have written under it the word " Victory." But at the same time we are anxious that in this moment's deliberation reason and judgment should not be ousted by passion. We are anxious that the voice of the toiling millions of this country, already raised in open war against a candidate here named, in revolt that threatens the next moment to turn into rebellion—we are anxious to have you hear their voice, and pause before you slap them in the face. The laboring masses of the country are found walking in the ranks of the Democratic party. The laboring masses of the country—at least such of them as are represented in my district, and it has been the fighting district of labor in this country, and represents the antagonism and struggle that labor has had and has made—I know that that district and its workingmen, and the men that are opposed to the grasping greed of monopolists, tell you here (and they voice the laboring element of the country) that if you try to put the torn garment of New York on the candidate of the Democratic party you have lost the country and you have banished the labor vote.

Mr. President and gentlemen, but a moment more. I tell you that the name that came from Delaware to us would sweep our State. Two years ago Massachusetts fell into the column, but was stricken down by Republican practices and Republican devices. Out of 310,000 votes cast the Democratic party cast more than 150,000. To-day the defection in the Republican party in that State is great, and is growing hourly. Give us the man that the Independents, that the staunch and true Democrats, that the laboring element, and that the Anti-Monopolists will take and want—Thomas F. Bayard—and Massachusetts is a Democratic State.

THE CHAIR: The call of the roll will proceed.

The Clerk called South Carolina, and Hon. Wade Hampton responded on behalf of that State.

THE CHAIR: Senator Hampton, of South Carolina, has the floor.

SENATOR HAMPTON: Mr. Chairman, South Carolina has no candidate to present. I am not going to make a speech. The Platform of the Democratic party isn't arranged. South Carolina has no candidate to present. Her Delegates have come here uninstructed and unpledged, but a sister State has done us the honor to ask that one of our Delegates should be heard in behalf of the pure and able statesman from Delaware. I have the honor to present to the Convention the Hon. Leroy F. Youmans, who, at the request of Delaware, will second the nomination of Mr. Bayard.

ADDRESS OF HON. LEROY F. YOUMANS, OF DELAWARE.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I have listened with unmixed delight to the deservedly highly eulogistic terms in which the names of the several American Democratic statesmen have been presented to this Convention. The ability of each and every one of them is part of the country's strength. The integrity of each and every one of them is part of the country's honor. The success of any of them on whom the choice of this Convention shall fall would lend an honorable additional tinge to victory, and under the leadership of any one of them, if fate so wills it, we could accept—which God avert—defeat without dishonor.

But it is with all that there is within me of the highest possible esteem and admiration, it is with all that there is within me of patriotic emotion, that, sympathizing to the core as I do with the sentiments expressed by the Delegates from Delaware, from Mississippi, and from Massachusetts, and, indorsing to the echo the most happy terms, and the most felicitous utterances in which those sentiments were expressed, in accepting the high honor conferred upon me by the Delegation from Delaware, I rise to add something to what has already been so well said in support of the nomination of Delaware's great statesman.

In extent and accuracy of knowledge of the principles of government, both theoretical and practical, as a science and as an art, and especially of the nature and spirit, the history and workings of this great Government; in thoroughness and in completeness of conception of the rights and powers, duties and responsibilities of the ideal

Chief Magistrate of this imperial Republic; in fullness of executive ability for realizing in living flesh and blood the concrete of that grand ideal; in greatness of renown acquired by great services; in devotion to the principles of Jeffersonian Democracy, and to the tenets of the Democratic party, he stands preëminent. He has never wandered after Greeley or other strange gods; he has never burned strange fires or sacrificed strange offerings upon their altars. In all that makes a fit President of these United States—for what American statesman can it be claimed with a better show of truth and justice that he is in any of these regards *primus inter pares*—Delaware can claim for her idol son, Thomas Francis Bayard. Called by the confidence of his countrymen from an early manhood to high and honorable public position, his life has been lived in the face of all Israel and before the sun, under the brightest rays of that fierce light which beats around the career of those who compete in the vast bodies of Democracy or contend for the leadership of States.

The chosen chief of the opposite party—a party whose success every good Democrat believes to be inimical to constitutional liberty, and which is daily and hourly at its ghoul-like work engrafting cancerous scions in the heart of American freedom—is not to be underrated. Whatever may be his faults, or his vices, or his weaknesses, he is a man of an intellect fertile, subtle, and capacious. By nature endowed and by learning taught with power to move the passions and the prejudices of men, with that massive strength and headlong weight of vehemence and muscle, both of frame and mind, which shoulder down the mob of human kind; a man who, on the great arena of the floor of the Federal Congress, competed fairly with such intellectual athletes as Roscoe Conkling, as Benjamin Hill, and Proctor Knott, whatever he may be in intellect, in power, in popular enthusiasm, in the strength of his party, is a foeman worthy of our best steel. Even if it be true—what those of the Republican party, of its higher and its better elements, who, unable to brook this man's supremacy as personal dishonor, have refused to follow his lead and revolted from his leadership, say—if it be true, as they allege, that he is buoyant by putrefaction he is buoyant still. He is the concentrated essence, the very spirit of his embodied party in its furious thirst for power, in its corrupt thirst for spoils, in its reckless scorn of the rights and sufferings of all who have not bowed the knee to Baal. This man's ascendancy is the most dangerous to constitutional liberty; this man's planet sits more darkly in



the house of American liberty than has any man's since Thaddeus Stevens wrote upon the flag of the Republican party that it knew no such word as ruth, and debauched the tone and vigor of its young manhood by the infamous defense, and the infamous avowal of the infamous truth that the Republican party camped outside of the Constitution. Whatever may be said of Mr. Blaine, he towers above his whole party like Saul the son of Kish, or Turnus amid the Rutulian Chiefs. He is their exemplar, their chief, their philosopher, their specimen brick. And, gentlemen, beyond this, with the election of the President of this United States by the Republican party there necessarily will be a Republican House of Representatives. With the Presidency, with the Lower House of Congress, with the Upper House of Congress, with the entire Supreme Court from its Chief Justice to its last appointed District Judge, with the exception—the glorious exception—of Stephen J. Field, of California, the Government is entirely Republican. With all its power in all the departments of the Government, what hope is there left for constitutional freedom?

Now, gentlemen, whom shall we set up in opposition to the candidate of the Republican party? The conscience of the country, in tones as of a trumpet, thunder loud, echoing and reëchoing from the Lakes to the Gulf, from the ocean that roars to the ocean that sleeps, says place upon your platform a candidate who is most severely the moral contrast of James G. Blaine. In opposition to a disgraceful platform and a dishonored candidate, place a platform redolent of Democratic principles and appealing to the untutored instincts, the honest yeomanry, the bone and sinew of the country. Upon that platform place a clean man, a man "*Integer vitæ, scelerisque purus*," who does not know of Greeks or others bearing gifts. In opposition to the knight of the soiled plume place the knight without fault and without reproach. In opposition to James G. Blaine place Thomas F. Bayard.

In opposition to a man who, so far as we are informed by high authority, has no superior in the ways that are dark and tricks that are vain, place a man who has no arts but manly arts; whose name and record are a platform upon which the whole Democracy can stand.

It is with very peculiar gratification that we are informed that once more in the case of Bayard as the nominee of this party the old Bay State and the Palmetto State will have a voice in electing the same candidate. For whatever may be the deliberations before that result

is attained, if the gentleman from Massachusetts is correct in his prognostications as to the vote of that State, we say with equal certainty that the same result, beneficent, life-giving to the Republic, will be effected in South Carolina. The great statesmen of Massachusetts, in an hour of doubt and darkness and peril, recalled to the recollection of the South that in the Revolution Massachusetts and South Carolina stood shoulder to shoulder, hand in hand they stood around the Administration of Washington, and felt his own great arm leaning upon them for support. And this thing has never happened before from the day when the world's greatest man died till Thomas F. Bayard becomes the nominee of the Democratic party. With Democratic success the career of this country is assured—assured for a space of time which the patriots may well think has no definite end. The election by the Democracy of Thomas Jefferson in 1801 rescued the masses from the domination of classes. The election of Thomas F. Bayard in 1884 will rescue the masses from the domination of rings and pools. Under a favorable Democratic administration—under an administration which has at its head no American Lysander who ekes out the lion's skin, where it falls short, with the fox's—but under the leadership of a man whose name is the synonym of honor, what power shall put down the energies of the Democracy? It will penetrate and illumine every portion of this great Republic. Its influence will embrace the whole country. We will find it stimulating and vivifying the most magnificent domain that the foot of man ever trod since Joshua crossed the Jordan; gemmed and glittering with the spotless beauty of a thousand cities, with a thousand fat and fertile valleys, which might seem hollowed out to inclose the lost homes of liberty, all under the equal operation of equal laws, striving to make this the most favorable spot upon the face of the mighty earth. Nominate Bayard and you will hear from Massachusetts, and from all portions of this Union, that the Presidential election is secured, the Government once more in the hands of the Democracy, and the peace, the prosperity and the happiness of the continent are assured.

MR. W. L. TERRY, of Arkansas: Mr. President, when the State of Arkansas was called the name of the person whose nomination she desired to second had not been placed before this Convention, and she now desires to ask the unanimous consent of this Convention that the Hon. U. M. Rose, the Chairman of her Delegation, be permitted to second one of the nominations that have been made.

THE CHAIR: Arkansas asks to second a nomination. No objection

being heard leave will be granted. The Hon. U. M. Rose, of Arkansas,

ADDRESS OF HON. U. M. ROSE, OF ARKANSAS.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I rise for the purpose, with your kind indulgence, of making perhaps the shortest speech that was ever made on this platform, a speech which probably will not occupy more than five minutes. After much consultation and deliberation the Delegation of which I have the honor to form a part have made up their minds to cast their vote unanimously for Grover Cleveland, of the State of New York. We have listened patiently and courteously and without objection to everything that has been said against Grover Cleveland. He has received the unanimous approval of the State Convention of the State of New York. Let me say to you that there are no slaves in this Convention. There is no man here that wears a manicle upon his wrist. The Delegation that I represent is also voting under the unit rule, but we do not consider that we are slaves because we carry out the wishes of the Democracy of our State. What has been said against Gov. Cleveland? We are in favor of him because we believe him to be not a holiday reformer.

We have listened, as I was saying, to everything that has been said against Gov. Cleveland with patience and with courtesy. What does it amount to? Simply this: That he has made some mistakes. To say that he has made mistakes is no more than to say that he is human. But we are told that he has enemies at home. There is no man who can administer with fidelity to principle a high and responsible office like that of Governor of the State of New York without making enemies at home. Mr. Tilden had his enemies. George Washington, the greatest and the purest patriot that the world ever saw, had his enemies. If you are going to find a man who has no enemies, you will find a man who has not that elevation of character which is necessary to make him a successful candidate of the Democratic party, or a fit representative of its principles.

Again, we are told that Gov. Cleveland is not acceptable to all the parties and men of his State; and that we ought not to enter the vexed vermouthes of New York politics. But let us say, in answer to that, that the name of Gov. Cleveland has ceased to be the individual property of the State of New York. It has become a part of the public domain and the property of the whole people of the United States.

The call of States was proceeded with until Wisconsin was reached.

MR. A. K. DELANEY, of Wisconsin : Mr. Chairman, in accordance with a vote taken in the Delegation from Wisconsin, a majority of that Delegation desire to second the nomination of the Governor from New York. And, sir, it is their desire to be heard through the distinguished Chairman of the Delegation—Gen. Bragg, of Wisconsin.

ADDRESS OF GEN. EDWARD S. BRAGG, OF WISCONSIN.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: It is with feelings of no ordinary pride that I fill the post that has been assigned to me to-day. Grim and gray personally, fighting the battles of the Democratic party, I stand to-day to voice the sentiment of the young men of my State when I speak for Gov. Cleveland. His name is upon their lips ; his name is in their hearts ; and he is the choice, not only of that band of young men, but he is the choice of all those who desire for the first time as young men to cast their votes in November for the candidate nominated by this Convention. They love him, gentlemen, and they respect him, not only for himself, for his character, for his integrity and judgment and iron will, but they love him most for the enemies that he has made.

MR. T. F. GRADY, of New York (coming round by the rear down to the front of the Delegates, directly in front of the Chairman's desk): Mr. Chairman, on behalf of his enemies I reciprocate that sentiment, and we are proud of the compliment.

THE CHAIR : The gentleman is entirely out of order, and he will take his seat.

GEN. BRAGG : I thank the emissary, who represents a respectable name, at least, for calling himself again to my attention. This broad Nation witnessed the disgraceful spectacle of a Senator of the United States trading his proud position for gain. Mahone and Riddleberger would scarcely be allowed to stand upon this platform to teach you, gentlemen, Democracy, and whom you should nominate. Go to the Senate of the State of New York since Gov. Cleveland has been Governor, and there you will find two worthy confrères playing in a small theatre Mahone and Riddleberger over again. And why ? Because the Governor of the State of New York had more nerve than the machine. They may speak of him—aye, the vilest of the



species may defile a splendid statue—but they only disgrace themselves. Wherever the thin disguise can be reached, you will find it covering nothing but personal grievances, disappointed ambition, or the cutting off of access to the flesh-pots to those who desired to fatten upon them.

I do not assume here to speak for labor. The child of a man who always earned his daily bread by his daily labor; brought up for more than a quarter of a century, from boyhood to manhood, among the laborers that have made the great Northwest what it is; I do not assume to speak for labor. Labor is not represented in political conventions by the soft hand of the political trickster, no matter who. The men who follow conventions and talk about the rights of labor are the Swiss contingent who place their camps wherever the prospect of profit is greatest, while honest, intelligent, horny-handed labor will be found following the old Democratic flag, thanking God that its self-styled leaders have gone where they belonged. Men come here to talk of labor. Yes; their labor has been upon the crank of the machine; their study has been political chicane in the midnight conclave. [A voice, "Give them a little more grape, Capt. Bragg."] We are told that the Democratic party is suffering from fearful political disorders by these men. If we are to judge from past experience, those disorders in the quarters where they are alleged to exist can only be cured by an application of Federal soap. I have heard it said that the States of the Northwest ought to have no voice in this nomination. I have heard it said, "What moots it what their opinion is, or what they may say?" What was it that placed the great States of the Northwest in the Republican column? It was because they followed blindly, implicitly, the old leaders, and they led the party of the Union to defeat, and they placed our States down under thousands and tens of thousands of Republican majority. We have fought our way steadily upward. We see through the water which has been so deep above our heads the glimmer again of sunlight, and we ask to breathe once more the air of victory.

Our young men ask it. The religious sentiment of our country asks it. The intelligence of our people asks it. Our German foreign-born citizens say to us, "We come to you with Cleveland." The Old Guard will fight steadily and go down to death, shouting gloriously as they fall, under the lead of the chivalric Bayard. They will follow steadily and unflinchingly that sturdy old Democrat from Indiana, but to the same result, they fear. They will rally round that glorious old Senator from Ohio, and they respect that judicial-



mindful gentleman from Kentucky, but they want some new life. They have followed old leaders to death. They ask somebody to lead them to victory. Pardon me for saying there was a time when the 2:40 steeds stood first upon the list, but in these days something that has made 2:40 ought to be retired as slow, for it is of no account against 2:10 $\frac{1}{4}$ . Let our old war-horses be retired with honor. Let the record of their achievements be recorded and pointed at with pride and pleasure ; but our people say give us new life, give us new blood, give us something that has come to manhood and position since the War, that we may hear no more about what took place before and during the War. Every breeze brings us what would seem to be indications of victory, but we cannot accomplish victory without recruits. Those recruits are at our bidding— young, middle-aged, and old. You see them in platoons, in regiments, in brigades, in divisions. Every one of them bears upon their banner first Cleveland of New York. Let the countersign of the first Democratic camp in November be Cleveland, and these men will be there ; and, recruited as we shall be, our idea of November will not be a Waterloo, but will be the glorious sun of Austerlitz, and Wisconsin, my own adopted State, I say to you, gives us every reason to believe that she will find herself once more in the Democratic column and her eleven Electoral votes be cast for the nominee of this Convention. For that reason, on behalf of the majority representing that State, I second that nomination.

MR. FRANK JONES, of New Hampshire : When New Hampshire was called she was silent. I rise now to ask the Convention to allow one of our number to second the nomination of a candidate that has been named—by their consent.

THE CHAIR : New Hampshire, when called, made no response. She asks unanimous consent to second a nomination which has been made by one of her Delegates. No objection being made, consent is given.

ADDRESS OF COL. HENRY G. KENT, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

MR. PRESIDENT, FELLOW-DEMOCRATS OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION : I stand here to-day to ask for such action from the grand council of the Nation as will take New Hampshire out of the list of doubtful States and place her in her proper position in the Democratic column of the country. Although small in territory, and small here in numerical strength, New Hampshire has not formerly

been without her voice in the councils of the Nation. We do not forget that the great expounder of constitutional law, whose name is revered wherever the American tongue is spoken—Daniel Webster—was a son of New Hampshire. We do not forget, fellow-Democrats, that only a decade and a half ago New Hampshire gave to the country a gallant soldier, a courteous gentleman and an accomplished statesman as President of the United States. We are to-day in a minority of 500 votes only on the popular vote of the State. We are in that list of doubtful States which we believe may be made sure to the cause of constitutional liberty, which is synonymous with the success of the Democratic party; and it is because we believe this, because we can aid in the election of a Democratic President, that I arise here to-day, at the request of our Delegation, to second the nomination of one of the candidates named to-day.

Mr. President and fellow-Democrats, in my judgment there is no way for a minority party to attain power except by concessions from the majority. With all the great and illustrious men that have been mentioned here to-day, names which we revere and whose precepts we have followed, I beg to say that there is abroad an element in the country that stands watching and waiting the action of this Convention that it may come up and follow the Democratic hosts, and aid them to capture the citadel of the country.

My friends, it does not do; it is not enough to say we will nominate strictly upon a party issue. I believe that first of all the great and glorious Democratic party of the country through its Delegates should be satisfied with this nomination, but further than finding such a man, I believe we should find a man acceptable to that great body of the independent voters who are now waiting to join us in his success.

Fellow-Democrats, success is a duty. We have before us as the candidate of the opposition a man whose record and whose methods bode no good to the Republic in the event of his election. Should James G. Blaine be made President of the United States with the forces behind him, we may almost tremble for the future of constitutional liberty.

My friends, allusion has been made here to-day to the position of the United States in voicing the sentiment of the country on the Electoral ticket. It is because I desire to see the South recognized, to see the rights of the South protected, and a constitutional administration, that I trust a candidate will be presented who, in the opinion of many, will unite the country, will bring to the party accessions of

strength, who will give us victory in November. My friends, the War is over. The smoke of conflict has rolled away, and the echo of battle has ceased.

Under the sod and the dew,  
Awaiting the judgment day;  
Under the roses the blue,  
Under the lilies the gray.

When the Centennial era was approaching and good feeling was bursting spontaneously from the North and South in 1875, who in the halls of Congress attempted to set back this tide of fraternal feeling? Who attempted to wave again the infamous "bloody shirt," and incite the North against the South? Blaine of Maine. Now, it is a duty we owe the State, it is a duty we owe ourselves and the country, to nominate a candidate who will give to all sections equal and exact justice. For this reason, because I believe the name I am about to mention will call to its support the strength of the great independent masses throughout the country; because I believe it will aid the Democratic party; because without giving up an iota of Democratic principles we shall thereby draw to us great accessions of strength. I second, in behalf of New Hampshire, and I know largely of New England, the name of that man who has been tried and found worthy, who has made reform a verity in a great State, Grover Cleveland, of New York.

Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention, we are told—[cries of "Time,"] and you shall have time, for I will not take much of it—we are told there are divisions in New York. Has any candidate been presented to-day from any State among the illustrious names that have been presented where the delegation was united? Has there not been division? My friends, to whom are we to look for counsel? There may be dissensions in New York, there may be divisions in New York, but the candidate from New York is a man who will rally to his support, in my judgment, more fully than any other man, this independent vote in the country that desires reform in the politics of the country. Gentlemen of the Convention, we can never win a victory unless we have an issue, and unless we can do it upon principle. The illustrious maxim of the great Republican, Mr. Flanagan, "What are we here for but the offices?" is not an issue that will carry the country for the Democratic party. We must have behind us a vitalizing principle. We must have this reform that is embodied in the person of Gov. Cleveland and we shall achieve success.

One word more, and only one, and I am done. How shall we judge what is the wisest course to pursue? How can we tell about New York? We are met here by the assertion that Gov. Cleveland cannot carry New York. We were told eight years ago that Gov. Tilden could not carry New York, and that magnificent victory was accomplished, the fruits of which were wrested from us by an infamy unparalleled in the annals of the American Continent. Now, my friends—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen—let me state to you the authority upon which, I think, we may safely say that we can rely upon carrying the vote of New York. What is the evidence? Who knows about New York? Let me state to you the names of three illustrious gentlemen than whom there are no purer Democrats in the country; unselfish, broad, statesmanlike men, who are known and loved by the people of the country. My friends, who says we can carry New York? Who assures us that the nomination of Gov. Cleveland will carry New York? I cite the name of Francis Kernan, of New York; I cite the name of Horatio Seymour, of New York; I cite the name of Samuel J. Tilden; and I ask this Convention if there can be authority adduced—if there can be stronger proof put before us as to the probabilities of carrying New York with Cleveland as a candidate than the uniform testimony and the earnest desire of these three illustrious statesmen and Democrats?

Mr. Chairman and fellow-citizens, for twenty-four years we have been in the valley of defeat. We have marched with almost unbroken ranks, but the clouds have lowered over our heads and our victories have been dispelled save once, when victory was wrested from us by fraud; but now the signs are auspicious, the sun-burst of victory is in the air, and as the grand Democratic masses come into a close column, and the advance is sounded, and the column moves along over the intrenchments of the enemy, I believe that if we go forward with spirit and determination, and under a fitting leader, it will secure us entrance to the citadel of the country, and give to the country a pure, free, constitutional Government, and consequent prosperity in the domestic and family circle. To accomplish that, Mr. Chairman and fellow-citizens, I second, on behalf of my State and many of my associates in New England, the nomination of Gov. Grover Cleveland, of New York.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Wisconsin, Senator Doolittle.

Senator Doolittle yielded to Gen. Bragg, the Chairman of the Wisconsin Delegation.

GEN. BRAGG : If it would be agreeable to the sense of the Convention, the friends of Gov. Cleveland in our Delegation would ask the Convention to listen to our distinguished citizen, J. R. Doolittle.

THE CHAIR : The Chairman of the Wisconsin Delegation asks, on behalf of that Delegation, the consent of the Convention to remarks from Judge Doolittle seconding a nomination that has been made. The Chair hears no objection. The gentleman will proceed.

ADDRESS OF HON. JAMES R. DOOLITTLE, OF WISCONSIN.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: A few words only as to why I favor the nomination of Gov. Cleveland, of New York. First—Because I believe we can carry the State of Wisconsin. The Republican majority of 1880 was 21,780. A change of 10,000 votes will give us the State of Wisconsin. The German Republicans of Wisconsin hold the balance of power, and 90 per cent. of that great vote is ready to come to the support of the Democratic party, if it shall nominate Grover Cleveland. I believe he will, more surely than any other, carry the State of New York. But I shall not dwell on that, but simply say this: I rely on the statements of the Delegations from New York, of Mr. Seymour, of Mr. Tilden, and the men who know the condition of the State of New York. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I urge upon you not to throw away this great opportunity to make the election sure. For eighteen years your opportunity has been lost, not by the strength of your adversaries, but by the mistakes of the Democratic party itself. Make no mistakes now; make the election sure. With Cleveland and reform you are sure of a victory in the coming election.

MR. HOUSE, of Tennessee: I believe yesterday the Convention adopted a resolution not to go into balloting until we had a platform. I wish to inquire, Mr. Chairman, if yesterday the Convention did not pass a resolution that no vote should be taken until the report of the Committee on Resolutions should be received.

THE CHAIR : Such was the order adopted.

MR. HOUSE : We received a communication this morning from that Committee that they would not be able to report until 7 o'clock this evening. I now move that this Convention adjourn until 8 o'clock this evening.

MR. SPENCER, of California : I second the motion.

THE CHAIR : The motion is out of order. The Convention has



not yet completed the execution of the order in which it is engaged. The call of the roll of the States will proceed.

MR. HOUSE: I ask pardon, Mr. Chairman. I thought that was completed.

THE CHAIR: The Chairman was desiring to call the Territories, simply to inquire of the Convention whether such was the purpose of the order. The Chair is of the opinion that the Territories are not entitled to be called under the order for a call of the States, and so decides, unless objection be made.

MR. HOUSE: Then, Mr. Chairman, have not all the States been called?

THE CHAIR: No. The call of the States having been completed, the Clerk will announce the names which have been put in nomination in a moment.

ADDRESS OF HON. T. M. WALLER, OF CONNECTICUT.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: The Delegation of the State of Connecticut came here without any candidate. They came here opposed to no one, not even Tammany Hall. When the call of the States was made Connecticut mentioned to this Convention the name of none of her illustrious sons. Its Delegation came to this Convention. They have listened to everything that has been said, and they have cheered almost everything that has been said on all sides. They have enjoyed, in common with you, this magnificent Convention. They have felt proud with you that there is no country on the face of God's earth that could present a scene such as we are now beholding. Eight hundred and more Delegates from the sovereign States of this country here—convened for what? To select in the name of the people a man to rule over them? No. To select in the name of the people a man to rule for them—not over them.

Its Delegation have enjoyed with you the splendid oratory that the discussions of your session have developed. I would it were so, sir, that at this moment every Democrat in the country, man and woman, could look in upon this scene, see the representative men of the grand old party, look at the statesmen whose hair has grown gray in its splendid service, have their hearts lifted with loyal enthusiasm and pride in shaking the hand of Allen G. Thurman. You Delegates have listened, too, to the unfortunate controversy in the Empire State of our Union. We had hoped before this that that

chasm between these two factions would be filled up—that John Fellows on one side and John Kelly on the other would fill the chasm. The time will come, gentlemen, when they will do it. They have got to do it.

We from Connecticut regret as you do this misfortune ; but now that they have listened to all the evidence in the deliberate style that is becoming New England, we are here, so far as we are concerned, to give him the verdict. We may make a mistake. Fallibility is common to us all. We may, in this great Convention, select the wrong man, but our duty as Delegates is done when we come here with a determination to listen to every consideration, to weigh every argument *pro* and *con*, and then, as if under oath to our country, to give the result of our judgment in the vote we cast, and that result in the State of Connecticut has brought its Delegation to instruct me to say to you—our State, you know, is a small one, and she requires only a short speech—that Delegation has instructed me to say to you that, with every vote it has the power to give, it will, as soon as you give it the opportunity—and the sooner the better—it will second the nomination of Grover Cleveland, of New York.

THE CHAIR : The Convention will now come to order. Whoever he be, the Chair directs the police to help out any man in the audience that calls for cheers. We cannot have cheers called for outside of the Convention.

The following communication was received and referred to the Committee on Resolutions :

*To the National Democratic Convention.*

At the annual meeting of the National Temperance Society and Publication House, held May 13, 1882, the following resolution was adopted, and ordered to be forwarded to the National Democratic Convention for its adoption :

*“Resolved,* That this Convention recognizes the right of the people to control the alcoholic liquor traffic, and recommends the submission to the several States of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to prohibit the manufacture or sale of intoxicating beverages.”

We trust that this or its equivalent may be adopted by your Convention.

J. N. STEARNS,  
*Corresponding Secretary.*

MR. HOUSE, of Tennessee : Mr. Chairman——

THE CHAIR : The gentleman from Tennessee will please wait a moment until the Clerk announces the result of the call of the States.

THE READING CLERK : The following gentlemen have been placed in nomination : Thomas Francis Bayard, of Delaware ; Joseph E. McDonald, of Indiana ; John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky ; Grover Cleveland, of New York ; Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio ; Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania ; George Hoadly, of Ohio.

J. B. MANN, of Illinois : Mr. Chairman——

THE CHAIR : The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. House] has the floor. The Chair promised to recognize him when the Clerk finished.

MR. HOUSE : Mr. Chairman, may I now inquire if, in this Convention, a motion to adjourn is now in order ?

THE CHAIR : Any motion is now in order.

MR. HOUSE : Then, of course, a motion to adjourn is in order ?

THE CHAIR : Yes.

MR. HOUSE : I move that this Convention adjourn until eight o'clock this evening.

MR. SPENCER, of California : I second the motion.

MR. MANN : Mr. Chairman, I move as an amendment to the motion of the gentleman from Tennessee that, inasmuch as the Committee upon Resolutions has informed this Convention that they will not be ready to report until seven o'clock this evening, this Convention now adjourn until half-past seven o'clock this evening.

MR. SOWDEN, of Pennsylvania : Mr. President, I make an amendment to the gentleman's resolution, and my resolution is in the hands of the Chairman.

THE CHAIR : The gentleman from Pennsylvania offers as a substitute for the motion and amendment a resolution which the Clerk will read.

THE READING CLERK : Offered by William H. Sowden, of Pennsylvania :

" *Resolved*, That the Committee on Platform be instructed to report to this Convention at eight o'clock this evening, to which time this Convention do now adjourn."

MR. HOUSE, of Tennessee: I am willing to accept that, Mr. Chairman.

MR. MANN, of Illinois: Mr. Chairman, as far as I am concerned I desire to accept the substitute.

THE CHAIR: The substitute is accepted unless objection be made.

The resolution as amended was unanimously adopted, and the Convention at 2.15 P. M. took a recess until 8 o'clock P. M.

## THIRD DAY.

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### EVENING SESSION.

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The Convention was called to order by the Chairman at 8.20 P. M., in the following words: The Convention will please come to order.

MR. R. H. HENRY, of Mississippi: I have a resolution.

THE CHAIR: Mr. Henry, of Mississippi, offers a resolution which will be read.

*Resolved, First.*—That this Convention has read with profound regret and intense admiration the statesman-like and patriotic letter of Samuel J. Tilden, expressing the overpowering and providential necessity which constrains him to decline a nomination for the highest office in the gift of the American people.

*Second.*—That, though fraud, force, and violence deprived Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendricks of the offices conferred upon them by the Democratic party of the Union in 1876, they yet live, and ever will, first in the hearts of the Democracy of the country.

*Third.*—That this Convention expresses the Nation's regret that the same lofty patriotism and splendid executive and administrative ability which cleansed and purified the city and State Governments of the great Empire State cannot now be turned on the Augean stable of National fraud and corruption so long and successfully inaugurated and maintained by the Republican party at the National Capital.

*Fourth.*—That a copy of these resolutions be suitably engrossed, and that the Chairman of this Convention appoint a Committee of ———, whose duty it shall be, in the name of the Convention, to for-



ward or present the same to the Hon. Samuel J. Tilden and the Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks.

J. B. MANN, of Illinois : I desire to raise a point of order.

THE CHAIR: What is the point of order?

MR. MANN : The point of order is, that we have already adopted a resolution that all resolutions concerning the platform and the policy of the party shall be referred to the Committee upon Resolutions without reading.

THE CHAIR : The point of order must be overruled. The question is upon the adoption of the resolutions which have been read.

The vote was put and the resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The following Committee was appointed by the Chairman in conformity with the resolution :

<i>Alabama</i> .....	Hon. E. W. Pettus.	<i>Mississippi</i> .....	Hon. R. H. Henry.
<i>Arkansas</i> .....	Hon. N. M. Rose.	<i>Missouri</i> .....	Hon. John O'Day.
<i>California</i> .....	Hon. H. M. Larue.	<i>Nebraska</i> ....	Hon. J. Sterling Morton.
<i>Colorado</i> .....	Hon. J. B. Grant.	<i>Nevada</i> .....	Hon. D. E. McCarthy.
<i>Connecticut</i> .....	Hon. T. M. Waller.	<i>New Hampshire</i> .....	Hon. A. W. Sulloway.
<i>Delaware</i> .....	Hon. George Gray.	<i>New Jersey</i> .....	Hon. Leon Abbett.
<i>Florida</i> .....	Hon. C. P. Cooper.	<i>New York</i> .....	Hon. L. B. Faulkner.
<i>Georgia</i> .....	Hon. A. O. Bacon.	<i>North Carolina</i> ..	Hon. A. B. Galloway.
<i>Illinois</i> .....	Gen. John C. Black.	<i>Ohio</i> .....	Gen. Durbin Ward.
<i>Indiana</i> ....	Hon. Daniel W. Voorhees.	<i>Oregon</i> .....	Hon. W. C. Cook.
<i>Iowa</i> .....	Hon. L. G. Kinne.	<i>Pennsylvania</i> .....	Hon. William A. Wallace.
<i>Kansas</i> ..	Hon. T. P. Fenlon.	<i>Rhode Island</i> ....	Hon. J. B. Barnaby.
<i>Kentucky</i> .....	Hon. J. A. McKenzie.	<i>South Carolina</i> ..	Gen. Wade Hampton.
<i>Louisiana</i> .....	Hon. B. F. Jonas.	<i>Tennessee</i> .....	Hon. Thomas F. House.
<i>Maine</i> .....	Hon. Payson Tucker.	<i>Texas</i> .....	Hon. R. B. Hubbard.
<i>Maryland</i> .....	Hon. J. L. Carroll.	<i>Vermont</i> .....	Hon. B. B. Smalley.
<i>Massachusetts</i> .....	Hon. J. G. Abbott.	<i>Virginia</i> .....	Hon. J. S. Barbour.
<i>Michigan</i> .....	Hon. A. P. Swineford.	<i>West Virginia</i> ..	Hon. Frank Hereford.
<i>Minnesota</i> .....	Hon. M. Doran.	<i>Wisconsin</i> .....	Hon. James W. Lusk.

Of whom Hon. R. H. Henry, of Mississippi, is designated as Chairman.

MR. ORESTES CLEVELAND, of New Jersey : I respectfully offer a resolution now which may save a little of the time of this Convention, Mr. Chairman. I offer the resolution under the impression that the Committee on Resolutions may not be quite ready at this moment to offer their Report.

THE READING CLERK : The resolution offered by Mr. Cleveland, of New Jersey :

THE CHAIR: The Convention will be in order. The Chair begs to say to the audience that nothing more interrupts business than the hum of conversation, and that it would greatly facilitate our proceedings if each person observe the propriety of the occasion in that particular especially. The resolution will be read.

The Clerk read as follows :

*Resolved*, That the States be called for the names of members of the National Committee and for members of the Committee to notify the candidates of their nomination and ask their acceptance, one from each State for each Committee; and in cases where no selection has been agreed upon the names may be furnished to the Secretary of the Convention before its adjournment.

The resolution was adopted.

THE CHAIR: The call of the States will now begin. The Chairmen of the several Delegations will give the names of the member of the National Committee and the Committee on Notification.

MR. CLEVELAND: I omitted in that resolution to name the Territories. For the first time they are admitted here on an equality with the States. I therefore beg to amend the resolution to add the Territories.

THE CHAIR: The motion will be entertained as a motion to amend that resolution, by leave of the house.

The motion was adopted.

THE CHAIR: The Territories will be called as well as the States. The Chairmen of the Delegations, in addition to reporting the names, are requested to send up the names in writing, with the post-office address affixed.

The roll of States was then called, and the committees announced as follows :

## NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

<i>Alabama</i> .....	Henry C. Semple.....	Montgomery.
<i>Arkansas</i> .....	S. R. Cockrill, Jr.....	Little Rock.
<i>California</i> .....	M. F. Tarpey.....	East Oakland.
<i>Colorado</i> .....	Chas. S. Thomas.....	Denver.
<i>Connecticut</i> .....	William H. Barnum.....	Lime Rock.
<i>Delaware</i> .....	Ignatius C. Grubb.....	Wilmington.
<i>Florida</i> .....	Samuel Paco.....	Monticello.
<i>Georgia</i> .....	Patrick Walsh.....	Augusta.
<i>Illinois</i> .....	S. Corning Judd.....	Chicago.
<i>Indiana</i> .....	Austin H. Brown.....	Indianapolis.
<i>Iowa</i> .....	M. M. Ham.....	Dubuque.
<i>Kansas</i> .....	C. W. Blair.....	Leavenworth.
<i>Kentucky</i> .....	Henry D. McHenry.....	Hartford.
<i>Louisiana</i> .....	B. F. Jonas.....	New Orleans.
<i>Maine</i> .....	Edmond Wilson.....	Thomaston.
<i>Maryland</i> .....	A. P. Gorman.....	Laurel.
<i>Massachusetts</i> .....	Frederick O. Prince.....	Boston.
<i>Michigan</i> .....	Don. M. Dickinson.....	Detroit.
<i>Minnesota</i> .....	P. H. Kelly.....	St. Paul.
<i>Mississippi</i> .....	C. A. Johnston.....	Columbus.
<i>Missouri</i> .....	John G. Prather.....	St. Louis.
<i>Nebraska</i> .....	James E. Boyd.....	Omaha.
<i>Nevada</i> .....	John H. Dennis.....	Tuscarora.
<i>New Hampshire</i> .....	A. W. Sulloway.....	Franklin.
<i>New Jersey</i> .....	Miles Ross.....	New Brunswick.
<i>New York</i> .....	Hubert O. Thompson.....	New York.
<i>North Carolina</i> .....	Matt. W. Ransom.....	Weldon.
<i>Ohio</i> .....	W. W. Armstrong.....	Cleveland.
<i>Oregon</i> .....	A. Noltner.....	Portland.
<i>Pennsylvania</i> .....	William A. Wallace.....	Fairfield.
<i>Rhode Island</i> .....	J. B. Barnaby.....	Providence.
<i>South Carolina</i> .....	Francis W. Dawson.....	Charleston.
<i>Tennessee</i> .....	Robert F. Looney.....	Memphis.
<i>Texas</i> .....	O. T. Holt.....	Houston.
<i>Vermont</i> .....	B. B. Smalley.....	Burlington.
<i>Virginia</i> .....	John S. Barbour.....	Alexandria.
<i>West Virginia</i> .....	Lewis Baker.....	Wheeling.
<i>Wisconsin</i> .....	William F. Vilas.....	Madison.
<i>Arizona</i> .....	W. K. Mead.....	Tombstone.
<i>Dakota</i> .....	M. H. Day.....	Springfield.
<i>District of Columbia</i> .....	William Dickson.....	Washington.
<i>Idaho</i> .....	John Haley.....	Idaho City.
<i>Montana</i> .....	W. J. McCormick.....	Missoula.
<i>New Mexico</i> .....	Geo. W. Fox.....	Socorro.
<i>Utah</i> .....	J. B. Roseborough.....	Salt Lake City.
<i>Washington</i> .....	J. H. Kuhn.....	Ft. Townsend.
<i>Wyoming</i> .....	M. E. Post.....	Laramie City.

## COMMITTEE ON NOTIFICATION.

<i>Alabama</i> .....	D. P. Bestor.	<i>New Jersey</i> .....	John P. Stockton.
<i>Arkansas</i> .....	S. W. Fordyce.	<i>New York</i> .....	John C. Jacobs.
<i>California</i> .....	Niles Searles.	<i>North Carolina</i> .....	W. G. Lamb.
<i>Colorado</i> .....	M. S. Waller.	<i>Ohio</i> .....	W. E. Haynes.
<i>Connecticut</i> .....	T. M. Waller.	<i>Oregon</i> .....	L. L. McArthur.
<i>Delaware</i> .....	George H. Bates.	<i>Pennsylvania</i> .....	James P. Barr.
<i>Florida</i> .....	W. D. Chipley.	<i>Rhode Island</i> .....	David S. Baker, Jr.
<i>Georgia</i> .....	Milton P. Reese.	<i>South Carolina</i> .....	Joseph H. Earle.
<i>Illinois</i> .....	A. E. Stevenson.	<i>Tennessee</i> .....	W. A. Quarles.
<i>Indiana</i> .....	E. D. Bannister.	<i>Texas</i> .....	Joseph E. Dwyer.
<i>Iowa</i> .....	L. G. Kinnie.	<i>Vermont</i> .....	Geo. L. Spear.
<i>Kansas</i> .....	C. C. Burns.	<i>Virginia</i> .....	Robert Beverly.
<i>Kentucky</i> .....	Attila Cox.	<i>West Virginia</i> .....	Frank Hereford.
<i>Louisiana</i> .....	James Jeffries.	<i>Wisconsin</i> .....	Wendell A. Anderson.
<i>Maine</i> .....	Charles H. Osgood.	<i>Arizona</i> .....	G. H. Oury.
<i>Maryland</i> .....	George Welles.	<i>Dakota</i> .....	M. L. McCormick.
<i>Massachusetts</i> .....	J. G. Abbott.	<i>District of Columbia</i> ....	E. D. Wright.
<i>Michigan</i> .....	Daniel J. Campan.	<i>Idaho</i> .....	John M. Silcott.
<i>Minnesota</i> .....	Henry Poehler.	<i>Montana</i> .....	S. T. Hauser.
<i>Missouri</i> .....	David R. Francis.	<i>New Mexico</i> ....	George W. Stonerod.
<i>Mississippi</i> .....	Charles E. Hooker.	<i>Utah</i> .....	Ransford Smith.
<i>Nebraska</i> .....	Patrick Fahey.	<i>Washington</i> .....	M. B. Dutro.
<i>Nevada</i> .....	Denis E. McCarthy.	<i>Wyoming</i> .....	W. H. Holloday.
<i>New Hampshire</i> ...	John F. Cloutnam.		

MR. MALCOLM HAY, of Pennsylvania: I am instructed by the Committee on Resolutions to present a report upon the subject of the appointment of Chairman of the National Committee, which subject was committed to them yesterday by the Convention. The report has been sent to the Chair with an accompanying resolution. We ask the adoption of the resolution attached to the report.

THE CHAIR: Mr. Hay, the Acting Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions makes a special report upon the subject of the resolution with regard to the National Committee, and moves the adoption of the accompanying resolution. The reported resolution will now be read.

The Reading Clerk read the resolutions, as follows :

"The Committee on Resolutions respectfully report that they have had under consideration the following preamble and resolution referred to them by the Convention, as follows—to-wit: 'Whereas, the Chairman of the National Democratic Committee is necessarily

intrusted with such large powers in the arrangement and conduct of the political campaign that upon his knowledge, prudence, and ability the successful execution of the plan of the party largely depends; and whereas, it is therefore highly important that the National Democratic Committee in selecting their Chairman should have the Democracy of the whole Union to choose from; therefore, resolved, that the National Democratic Committee be not restricted in its selection of a Chairman to the members of the Committee'—and respectfully report that in their opinion the said resolution should be adopted, and accordingly report the same for adoption, as follows :

*“Resolved,* That the National Committee be not restricted in the selection of a Chairman to the members of that Committee.

Respectfully,

MALCOLM HAY,  
*Acting Chairman.”*

This resolution was adopted.

MR. W. L. TERRY, of Arkansas: Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer a resolution.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Arkansas, Mr. Terry, offers a resolution which will now be read.

The Reading Clerk then read the resolution, as follows :

*“Whereas,* What is known as the two-thirds rule is not observed in Democratic State Conventions and may in National Conventions be often made the means of defeating the express will of a majority of the Delegates therein and the constituencies they represent; therefore,

*“Resolved,* That it is the sense of this Convention that hereafter the rule requiring a two-thirds majority in a National Convention to nominate a candidate for President or Vice-President shall be abrogated and discontinued, to the end that the will of the majority shall prevail, and that the National Committee are hereby directed to state in their next call for a National Convention that such two-thirds rule will not be observed therein unless made obligatory by an affirmative vote of such Convention upon that question.”

MR. PETTUS, of Alabama: Mr. Chairman, I call for a vote by States on that resolution.



THE CHAIR: The call is not seconded. The question is on the adoption of the resolution.

MR. SPENCER, of California: I second it for California.

THE CHAIR: It has to be seconded by five States.

MR. SPENCER: They are all over here seconding it.

THE CHAIR: The roll of the States will be called.

MR. W. B. COCKRAN, of New York: I move to lay the resolution on the table.

MR. A. O. BACON, of Georgia: I rise to a point of order, that that resolution is subject to the rule previously adopted by this Convention, that all resolutions must go to the Committee before being acted on by this Convention.

THE CHAIR: The point of order is not, in the opinion of the Chair, well taken, because that order related only to resolutions on the subject of the platform. The call of the States will proceed.

MR. COCKRAN, of New York: Mr. Chairman, I rise to a question of information.

THE CHAIR: What is it?

MR. COCKRAN: Does the resolution in its terms apply to the action of this Convention?

THE CHAIR: In order that there may be no misunderstanding, if the gentleman will pause a moment the resolution will be read again.

MR. J. B. BROWN, of Indiana: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIR: What is the point of order?

MR. BROWN: First, I desire to inquire of the Chair if at the adjournment a resolution was not adopted by the Convention instructing the Committee on Resolutions to report to this Convention at this hour, and that this Convention should then consider the report? That being so, Mr. Chairman, I take the ground that that was a special or particular order of business for this hour, and I call that up and make the point of order that this resolution is out of order.

THE CHAIR: The Chair is of the opinion that that point of order is not well taken; that the Convention was not bound by an instruction to a Committee.

MR. COCKRAN: Mr. Chairman, for the purpose of disposing of

this resolution in the briefest way possible, I move that it be laid upon the table.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIR : A call of the States has been called for and ordered.

CARTER H. HARRISON, of Illinois : He made that motion before the order was made, but the Chair failed to hear it, and he had a right to make it.

MR. COCKRAN : If there be any doubt of my right to make that motion, I will ask the gentleman who called for the roll of the States to accept the suggestion I made in the motion to the Chair.

MR. BROWN : What is the suggestion made ?

MR. COCKRAN : That it be laid upon the table.

MR. PETTUS, of Alabama : I accept it.

THE CHAIR : The gentleman from Alabama waives the call of the roll of the States.

MR. COCKRAN : No, sir ; he accepts the motion to lay on the table.

HON. LEON ABBETT, of New Jersey : Is that resolution with reference to the order of proceedings of the next Convention ?

THE CHAIR : The resolution will be read for the information of the Convention. The Chair so understands it.

GOV. ABBETT : If it is, I raise the point of order that this Convention has no power to make rules for the next Convention.

THE CHAIR : If the Chairman were the Chairman of the next Convention he would sustain that point of order, but he takes it that this Convention can pass anything by way of advice.

GOV. ABBETT : Is that by way of advice, I ask, or shall it be the rule ? As I understand it, it says that that shall be the rule of the next Convention. It stultifies us and makes us appear ridiculous in the face of the Democracy of this nation to attempt to dictate to the next Convention.

THE CHAIR : The Chair recognizes the force of the argument, but is obliged to overrule the point of order.

GOV. ABBETT : I move it be postponed indefinitely.

MR. COCKRAN, of New York : I will accept that motion.

THE CHAIR : The motion is to indefinitely postpone, and the call of the roll of States will proceed now.

The call of States was proceeded with as follows :

<i>States.</i>	<i>Ayes.</i>	<i>Noes.</i>	<i>States.</i>	<i>Ayes.</i>	<i>Noes.</i>
Alabama .....	17	3	Connecticut .....	..	..
Arkansas.....	5	7	Delaware.....	6	..
California.....	16	..	Florida.....	8	..
Colórado.....	6	..			

E. F. CULLERTON, of Illinois : I move that the further call of the States be dispensed with.

The motion was adopted.

THE CHAIR : The question is upon the motion to indefinitely postpone.

The motion was adopted.

THE CHAIR : The gentleman from Illinois, Col. Morrison, will present the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

THE HON. WILLIAM R. MORRISON, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions : The Committee on Platform and Resolutions have authorized and directed me to report for the consideration of the Convention the following declaration of principles, and to move its adoption.

## PLATFORM.

### REPORTED BY COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

The Democratic party of the Union through its representatives in National Convention assembled, recognizes that, as the Nation grows older, new issues are born of time and progress, and old issues perish. But the fundamental principles of the Democracy, approved by the united voice of the people, remain, and will ever remain, as the best and only security for the continuance of free government. The preservation of personal rights ; the equality of all citizens before the law ; the reserved rights of the States ; and the Supremacy of the Federal Government within the limits of the Constitution will ever form the true basis of our liberties, and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enables a continent to be developed in peace, and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government.

But, it is indispensable for the practical application and enforcement of these fundamental principles that the Government should not always be controlled by one political party. Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant recurrence to the popular will. Otherwise abuses grow, and the Government, instead of being carried on for the general welfare, becomes an instrumentality for imposing heavy burdens on the many who are governed, for the benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers.

This is now the condition of the country. Hence a change is demanded. The Republican party, so far as principle is concerned, is a reminiscence; in practice, it is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds and jobbery which have been brought to light in every department of the Government, are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican party; yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence, and have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt.

Therefore a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of the people was then defeated by a fraud which can never be forgotten, nor condoned. Again, in 1880, the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupulous contractors and shameless jobbers who had bargained for unlawful profits, or for high office.

The Republican party during its legal, its stolen, and its bought tenures of power, has steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity.

Its platform promises are now a list of its past failures.

It demands the restoration of our Navy. It has squandered hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist.

It calls upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed. It imposed and has continued those burdens.

It professes the policy of reserving the public lands for small holdings by actual settlers. It has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroads, and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas.

It professes a preference for free institutions. It organized and tried to legalize a control of State elections by Federal troops.

It professes a desire to elevate labor. It has subjected American workingmen to the competition of convict and imported contract labor.

It professes gratitude to all who were disabled, or died in the war, leaving widows and orphans. It left to a Democratic House of Representatives the first effort to equalize both bounties and pensions.

It proffers a pledge to correct the irregularities of our tariff. It created and has continued them. Its own Tariff Commission confessed the need of more than twenty per cent. reduction. Its Congress gave a reduction of less than four per cent.

It professes the protection of American manufactures. It has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods, and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw materials.

It professes to protect all American industries. It has impoverished many to subsidize a few.

It professes the protection of American labor. It has depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people.

It professes the equality of all men before the law. Attempting to fix the status of colored citizens, the acts of its Congress were upset by the decisions of its Courts.

It "accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform." Its caught criminals are permitted to escape through contrived delays or actual connivance in the prosecution. Honeycombed with corruption, outbreking exposures no longer shock its moral sense. Its honest members, its independent journals, no longer maintain a successful contest for authority in its counsels or a veto upon bad nominations.

That change is necessary is proved by an existing surplus of more than \$100,000,000, which has yearly been collected from a suffering people. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes which have paralyzed business, crippled industry, and deprived labor of employment and of just reward.

The Democracy pledges itself to purify the Administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the Nation to its creditors and pensioners.



Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the occupations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands, the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests.

But in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government, taxes collected at the Custom House have been the chief source of Federal Revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice.

All taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country.

Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government, economically administered, including pensions, interest and principal of the public debt, can be got, under our present system of taxation, from Custom House taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury, and bearing lightest on articles of necessity.

We, therefore, denounce the abuses of the existing tariff; and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes and shall not exceed the needs of the Government economically administered.

The system of direct taxation known as the "Internal Revenue," is a war tax, and so long as the law continues, the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war, and be made a fund to defray the expense of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in line of duty in the wars of the Republic and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having been already provided; and any surplus should be paid into the Treasury.

We favor an American continental policy based upon more inti-

mate commercial and political relations with the fifteen sister Republics of North, Central and South America, but entangling alliances with none.

We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the Government, in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion—religious or political.

We believe in a free ballot and a fair count; and we recall to the memory of the people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses, by which a reluctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops at the polls, as the conclusive proof that a Democratic administration will preserve liberty with order.

The selection of Federal officers for the Territories should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty; we favor honest Civil Service Reform; and the compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries; the separation of Church and State; and the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship.

While we favor all legislation which will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly, and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuses, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the rights of property as defined by law.

We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should therefore be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relations of capital and labor.

We believe that the public lands ought, as far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican party should be restored to the public

domain ; and that no more grants of land shall be made to corporations, or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees.

We are opposed to all propositions which upon any pretext would convert the General Government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States, or the citizens thereof.

In re-affirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that "the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every Nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith," we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor, or the admission of servile races, unfitted by habits, training, religion or kindred for absorption into the great body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores, our gates be closed.

The Democratic party insists that it is the duty of this Government to protect, with equal fidelity and vigilance, the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad ; and to the end that this protection may be assured, United States papers of naturalization, issued by courts of competent jurisdiction, must be respected by the Executive and Legislative departments of our own Government, and by all foreign powers.

It is an imperative duty of this Government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof.

An American citizen is only responsible to his own Government for any act done in his own country, or under her flag, and can only be tried therefor on her own soil and according to her laws; and no power exists in this Government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act.

This country has never had a well-defined and executed foreign policy save under Democratic administration; that policy has ever been, in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do no act detrimental to the interests of the country or hurtful to our citizens, to let them alone; that as the result of this policy we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California, and of the adjacent Mexican territory by purchase alone; and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of

Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide-water.

Under a long period of Democratic rule and policy our merchant marine was fast overtaking and on the point of outstripping that of Great Britain.

Under twenty years of Republican rule and policy our commerce has been left to British bottoms, and almost has the American flag been swept off the high seas.

Instead of the Republican party's British policy we demand for the people of the United States an American policy.

Under Democratic rule and policy our merchants and sailors, flying the stars and stripes in every port, successfully searched out a market for the varied products of American industry.

Under a quarter century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantage over all other nations in high-paid labor, favorable climates and teeming soils; despite freedom of trade among all these United States; despite their population by the foremost races of men and an annual immigration of the young, thrifty and adventurous of all nations; despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in old-world monarchies—their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming, non-producing standing armies; despite twenty years of peace—that Republican rule and policy have managed to surrender to Great Britain, along with our commerce, the control of the markets of the world.

Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand on behalf of the American Democracy an American policy.

Instead of the Republican party's discredited scheme and false pretence of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand in behalf of the Democracy, freedom for American labor by reducing taxes, to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

With profound regret we have been apprised by the venerable statesman through whose person was struck that blow at the vital principle of republics (acquiescence in the will of the majority), that he cannot permit us again to place in his hands the leadership of the Democratic hosts, for the reason that the achievement of

reform in the administration of the Federal Government is an undertaking now too heavy for his age and failing strength.

Rejoicing that his life has been prolonged until the general judgment of our fellow-countrymen is united in the wish that that wrong were righted in his person, for the Democracy of the United States we offer to him in his withdrawal from public cares not only our respectful sympathy and esteem, but also that best homage of freemen, the pledge of our devotion to the principles and the cause now inseparable in the history of this Republic from the labors and the name of Samuel J. Tilden.

With this statement of the hopes, principles and purposes of the Democratic party, the great issue of Reform and change in Administration is submitted to the people in calm confidence that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of new men, and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade, the employment and the due reward of labor and of capital, and the general welfare of the whole country.

Upon the completion of the reading of the platform the Chairman introduced the Hon. William R. Morrison.

MR. MORRISON: Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the Convention, that you may know your patience is not to be taxed with further delays, I desire to state that I shall yield to Gen. Butler to offer a minority report, after which he will have thirty minutes in which to address you; then five minutes will be given to Mr. Converse, of Ohio, and ten minutes in conclusion to Mr. Watterson, of Kentucky. After which I shall demand the previous question and ask for a vote.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Massachusetts has the floor. Gen. B. F. Butler.

GEN. BUTLER: Mr. President, gentlemen of the Convention, I rise to present the minority report. Most things in the platform you have heard read I agree to. Some things, I think, ought to be added, which I submit to you—and one thing specially changed, and that I submit to your better judgment, and will ask leave for the Clerk to read it.

The Secretary read the report as follows :



## GENERAL BUTLER'S PLATFORM.

The planks of certain portions of a platform offered by General Benj. F. Butler, of the Committee of Resolutions, rejected. (Other portions, such as the subject of the disposition of internal revenue, taxes to a pension fund, the American foreign policy, and the appointment of Federal officers in Territories from the citizens thereof, were adopted by the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That no taxes direct or indirect can be rightfully imposed upon the people, except to meet the expenses of an economically administered government. To bring taxation down to this point is true administrative revenue reform;

*Resolved*, That the people will tolerate direct taxation for the ordinary expenses of the Government only in case of dire necessity or war;

*Resolved*, Therefore, that the revenue necessary for such expenses should be raised by Customs duties upon imports after the manner of our fathers;

*Resolved*, That in levying such duties two principles should be carefully observed:

First.—That all materials used in the arts and manufactures, and the necessities of life not produced in this country, shall come in free; and that all articles of luxury should be taxed as high as possible up to the collection point.

Second.—That in imposing Customs duties, the law must be carefully adjusted to promote American enterprise and industries, not create monopolies, and to cherish and foster American labor.

## LABOR.

Faithful industry is the basis on which the whole fabric of civilization rests. Under our system toilers and producers—the mass of the people—are the governing power. Being the true Democracy, they demand the fullest consideration of measures for their education, their advancement and their protection.

Labor and capital are allies, not enemies. No contention can arise between them if each has done its duty to the other. Under existing law, State and National, all such controversies can only be settled by brute force, capital starving labor and labor despoiling capital, the contention ending in the crippling or ruining of both; but capital is strong, labor is weak. Therefore labor has a right to demand of the Government to establish tribunals in which these

great controversies which may lead to revolution may be judicially and justly determined, with the fullest power to enforce their decrees.

To provide by law that laboring men may combine and organize for their own protection as capital may be incorporated and combined for its protection, and that all devices, either by contract or terrorism or otherwise, to obstruct and set aside this right in laboring men are oppressive and in derogation of the rights of an American freeman, and should be made penal by law.

All the great woes upon our country have come because of imported labor. Our fathers made this land the home of the free for all men appreciating our institutions, with energy enough to bring themselves here, and such we welcome.

But our country ought never to be a Lazar-house for the deportation of the pauper labor of other countries through governmental aid, or the importation of the same kind of labor of an instrument with which capital can debase American working men and women from the proud position they now occupy by competing with them by imported or convict labor, while at the same time capital asks and receives protection of its interests at the hands of the Government under guise of providing for American labor. This evil, like all others that find birth in the cupidity and selfishness of men, labor demands should be redressed by law.

Labor has a right to demand a just share of the profits of its own production.

The future of our country unites with the laboring men in the demand for the liberal support, by the United States, of the school system of the States for the common school education of all the children, the same affording a sufficient foundation for the coming generations to acquire due knowledge of their duties as citizens.

#### MONOPOLY.

That every species of monopoly engenders two classes, the very rich and very poor, both of which are equally hurtful to a republic which should give to its people equal rights and equal privileges under the law.

*Resolved*, That the public lands of the United States were the equal heritage of all its citizens, and should have been held open to the use of all in such quantities only as are needed for cultivation and improvement by all. Therefore, we view with alarm the absorption of those lands by corporations and individuals in large areas, some

of them more than equal to princely domains, and demand of Congress to apply appropriate remedies with a stern hand, so that the lands of the people may be held by the many and not by the few.

*Resolved*, That the public lands of the nation are held by the Government in trust for those who make their homes in the United States and who mean to become citizens of the Republic, and we protest against the purchase and monopolization of these lands by corporations and the alien aristocracy of Europe.

#### PUBLIC CORPORATIONS.

*Resolved*, That all corporate bodies created either in the States or nation for the purpose of performing public duties are public servants, and to be regulated in all their actions by the same power that created them at its own will, and that it is within the power and is the duty of the creator to so govern its creature that by its acts it shall become neither a monopoly nor a burden upon the people, but be their servant and convenience, which is the true test of its usefulness.

Therefore we call upon Congress to exercise its great constitutional powers for regulating inter-State commerce to provide that by no contrivance whatever, under forms of law or otherwise, shall discriminating rates and charges for the transportation of freight and travel be made in favor of the few against the many, or enhance the rates of transportation between the producer and the consumer.

#### THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The various offices of the government belong to the people thereof, and who rightfully demand to exercise and fill the same whenever they are fitted by capacity, integrity and energy; the last two qualifications never to be tested by any scholastic examination. We hold the frequent changes of federal officials are shown to be necessary:

*First*—To counteract the growing aristocratic tendencies to a caste of life offices.

*Second*—Experience having shown that all investigation is useless while the incumbent and his associates hold their places. Frequent change of officers is necessary to the discovery and punishment of frauds, peculations, defalcations and embezzlements of the public money.

## CURRENCY.

*Resolved*, That we adhere to and affirm the doctrine enunciated and established by Jackson—that the Government alone has the power to establish and issue money for the people; that the issue of the legal-tender note made by the Government as a method of borrowing money to carry on the war, in the exercise of a constitutional power, has become the fixed currency of the United States, equal to coined gold and silver; that neither policy nor duty calls for any meddling with it.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Massachusetts, under the arrangement made, will have the floor for thirty minutes.

## ADDRESS OF GEN. B. F. BUTLER OF MASSACHUSETTS.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I appear before you with great diffidence, having to differ from the very able committee of which I was an associate. Many and most things in the Platform I agree to. You have heard the various propositions read which I have submitted, and which were not agreed to. I shall speak to you now, in the time permitted to me, but of one, where there is the greatest and most radical difference between the two Platforms; and it is all comprised in a single sentence. Everything else was agreed to. We both agreed that there was no constitutional power in the Government to raise a dollar of taxes beyond the necessary expenses of an economical and honest administration. We all agreed that these might be raised by taxation from customs and revenue after the manner of our fathers. We agreed that the materials used in the arts and the necessities of life not produced in this country must be untaxed. Where we differed was in this: I claimed that in raising that revenue it was the duty of the Government so to adjust the law as to best promote American enterprise and foster and cherish American labor. Think of it a moment! A Democratic committee refusing, when they must raise taxes, to raise them in such a manner as best to sustain their own laboring men! Will that do? Are you ready to go into a contest with our opponents with such a platform? I come here as no mendicant, no beggar. I come here representing more than 1,500,000 laboring men. I have brought their condition before this Convention. I demand, not that you should give them anything, but when you are taking from the people you take it only where it will hurt

them least. Is that an unreasonable demand? Do you think you can get along without them. I do not. And therefore I have brought them here as your allies to receive them, and they will see me go away sorrowing if you will not receive them.

I object to the tariff plank of your platform, adopted by your Committee, for it took them thirty-six hours to frame it; and if it took those able gentlemen that time to frame it and get it in form there must be some reason for it. And if they could not find out what they meant in thirty-six hours, how are my laboring men to find out what it means? The tariff plank of the platform should be so that he who runs may read. The difficulty was that there was a radical difference between us—a difference of principle. The very able Chairman of the Committee, Col. Morrison, for whom I have the very highest respect, believes that there should be no such thing as protection of American labor by revenue taxation—indeed, I think he believes that it cannot be done—and I believe there should be such protection, and such fostering, and such cherishing. He could not yield his convictions; I could not yield mine; and, therefore, our associates upon the Committee had to spend all that time to say something which would mean one thing one way and another thing another. And now read that platform. Read that tariff plank and then see if you can find out exactly what it does mean.

It does not mean protection. If it did Col. Morrison is too honest a man to bring it here. And yet it is twisted so that it is supposed that it might mean protection. Democrats in the Convention, you passed a tariff plank in 1876—a tariff for revenue only—only for revenue—and you had a statesman that could carry a very poor platform on his back and yet win. In 1880 you had a tariff for revenue only. It broke the back of the most gallant soldier of the country and you lost. And now you have got a tariff for public purposes exclusively. What is the difference? “Exclusively” means “only”; “only” means “exclusively.” Think it over. I am here about no boy’s play. The success of this campaign, in my judgment, before God, depends upon the question this night to be settled here and now. If you will not say to the workingmen of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Massachusetts that you mean protection to their interests where you can, and say it with no uncertain sound, God help you, for I cannot. Your platform says that you will not cut down taxes so but that you can protect workingmen, but you say they must not be cut down below that. Well, what are you going to do if you don’t cut them down?



You say nowhere in your platform that you will discriminate in favor of the working men and women of this country who are the true Democracy of the country. Mark! You (Mr. Morrison) may say—my good friend, Col. Morrison, will tell you that he doesn't believe in protecting labor, the fostering and cherishing of labor—I don't use the word protection because I don't want to flaunt a red rag to a bull; for he doesn't believe that for more than fifty years the Democratic party has told the workingmen of the country—ever since Andrew Jackson in 1832 declared in favor of a judicious tariff—that a tariff did afford protection to them. And they believe it, and they have taught it to their children, and their children's children, and they are to vote, not you. You cannot unteach them that in a single campaign, unless you tell the Chairman of the sub-committee who drew the platform—the gentleman from New York [Mr. Hewitt]—to go into every school district in this country and explain it. I speak in the interest, therefore, of the Democracy. I speak for your success, and it is for you to say whether you will accept success when it is laid down to your hand.

I don't intend to ask a vote upon any resolution but the tariff resolution, and I desire and shall submit the tariff resolution as an amendment instead of the resolution which you have heard read. It was pressed through our Committee by the cry, "Oh! we must sustain the sub-committee." I said, "Then I will appeal to the Convention, for they have got to sustain the Democracy of the country," and therefore am I here.

I desire to call your attention to one or two other of the planks, which I will not submit to the Convention, for I know you are anxious to get through with your duties and go home. The first is, I want to call your attention to the different planks about the currency. I affirm the doctrine of Andrew Jackson, that the Government alone can issue money, and I would rather be wrong with Jackson than be right with your Committee.

I then affirm another proposition, which is, that the legal-tender currency, which fortunately saved the life of your Nation, paid your soldiers' wages, the pensions of their wives and children, freed 4,000,000 of slaves, decided to be the constitutional currency of the country by the Supreme Court in solemn judgment, eight to one,—not eight to seven,—is the currency of the people, good as gold and better than silver; and that being so, established by the highest tribunal of the land, I do not desire when wheat is worth 86 cents a bushel in Chicago to disturb finance and business by getting up a currency

discussion, and therefore I say, Let well enough alone! What is the answer? I represent many Greenback men, good and true Greenback men like Allen G. Thurman, who can answer to every shibboleth of the Democracy beside, and those men are willing to come with you to rout out corruption and wrong from the Government if you will have them.

How do you receive them? By a plank drawn by a capitalist that commences: "We are in favor of honest money." Who is not? Trot him out if there is any such man. It is a phrase of contempt upon the Greenback men of this Nation. It is a phrase not original, so he cannot get a patent for it, but cribbed from the plank of my old friends, the Republicans. Why didn't he say rag-baby? Why didn't they get up some other insulting epithet for the Greenback men? Think of it for a moment.

There are a hundred districts in Congress where a change of 500 men one way or the other will change the incumbent of the seat. There are more than three-quarters of a million of Greenbackers, honest and true, who knew what they were about when you didn't. They advocated the greenback when everybody—all the lawyers—was crying out it was unconstitutional. Now the highest Court has decided they were right—fully right. The greenbackers were right. These farmer greenbackers were better lawyers than your kid-gloved gentlemen that dare to cry out honest money. If any man says that he wants gold and silver, be it so; but let us enjoy the paper currency which has now become a fixed fact, and let us stop all agitation.

There is one other point—one other fact in your platform—with which I do not agree. There are many times—something like twenty times—fifteen will be enough—that you repeat in your platform how much you love labor. But you have not made any specific proposition but one in their favor, and that is made for the protection of capital. There is another trouble. You start off in your platform at one point and say you are for an honest Civil Service reform. Now I will venture to say there is not a man in this Convention that is in favor of Civil Service reform unless he is a schoolmaster. One of the first statesmen of Ohio, one who had a right to be brought here, brought by his Delegation and put before you for your suffrages as President, an able and learned man, got carried away by the doctrinaires and started once more a Civil Service reform. And it carried him so far out of sight with the Ohio Democracy that he never has been heard of since. What is this Civil Service reform? It is to give the man the preference who

shall appear to have the most learning. He signs a paper containing questions, and if he can answer the questions he is said to be "selected!" Now, what I want is that men from the people, honest and earnest men, men of purity and integrity, shall have the offices; and you cannot learn that by any schoolmaster examination.

O, what is this above my head? The portrait of George Washington! And he could not have passed examination for a clerkship. Let me repeat. George Washington could not have passed a Civil Service examination in the capital named for him for a \$1,200 clerkship. His early education had been neglected. And in his will, written by his own hand, he spells "clothes," "c-l-o-a-t-h-e-s." Therefore I have said that the offices belong to the people. And there ought to be frequent change of officers, in order to look over the books and see who are defaulters. And they want to be all turned out, or else when you try to punish them they will protect one another, as they did in the star-route trial.

Again, I want frequent change of officers in order to counteract the great tendency of these times to a caste of aristocratic life officers. If an office is a good thing, then I want all the people to have a shot—have a chance at it. If it is a bad thing, it is too hard to put it on to a poor fellow for his whole life.

In the remainder of the time permitted to me, I want to call your attention back to the main thing, because all these other matters are matters of very slight consequence in comparison—bring your minds once more back to this tariff platform. Tell this country to-night—the working men and women of this country to-night—whether we will or will not protect them—no, not protect, but cherish and foster, like a mother her child, the laboring men and women of the country. Tell them that, and you will sweep the country. Refuse to tell them that, and they, sorrowful that the Democratic party has deserted them—they will go their way sadly to the workshop, and remain there on election day.

Now, my friends, I shall ask a call of States on the substitution of my tariff plank for the tariff plank of the platform. There are objections—there are free-trade notions against protection. Theoretically I am a Free-Trader myself, but practically, while you have got to raise two hundred millions a year by Customs duties, there is no such thing as Free Trade. Therefore, so long as we raise this money, so long see to it that you cherish and foster in doing it American industry, and take care of American men and women laboring for their support. And let me say to you that if you do

that the Democracy shall go on prospering, and the country prospering under their rule from year to year, from Presidential election to Presidential election, until the old time of the Democracy shall come back again, when they held the country for more than a generation of men.

MR. CLEVELAND, of New Jersey: I call for the regular order, which is that we be furnished with copies of the minority report before we are asked to vote.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from New Jersey and the Convention are informed that every effort has been made to obtain copies of these reports. They have not been made ready yet so as to be furnished, and probably cannot be before the conclusion of the debate.

MR. CLEVELAND: Then will the Chairman of the Convention order that the motion which the gentleman asks to be substituted be read again for the information of those of us down here?

The Reading Clerk again read the tariff resolution submitted as part of the minority report, as follows:

*"Resolved,* That in levying such duties, two principles should be carefully observed: First, that all materials used in the arts and manufactures and the necessities of life, not produced in this country, shall come in free, and that all articles of luxury should be taxed as high as possible, up to the collection point; second, that in imposing customs duties, the law must be carefully adjusted to promote American enterprise and industries, not to create monopolies, but to cherish and foster American labor."

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Converse, has the floor.

ADDRESS OF HON. GEORGE L. CONVERSE, OF OHIO.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is much in the platform which has been submitted by Gov. Butler to which we can all subscribe. There is much even in the amendment which he proposes to the platform presented by the majority of the committee to which we can all subscribe. There is much of that amendment which is already in the platform as presented by the majority. There were thirty-eight States represented in the committee that framed this report. Of the thirty-eight representatives all practically united in the report with the exception of one.

There is a necessity in every great enterprise such as the Democratic party are engaged in that minor differences should be laid aside—that only those matters in which are presented questions of principle or questions of public policy upon which we all agree should be presented as the platform upon which we propose to make the battle. In the spirit of conciliation, in the spirit of fraternity, in the spirit of earnest and honest conviction, the gentleman from Illinois—Mr. Morrison; the gentleman from Kentucky—Mr. Watterson; the gentleman from Louisiana—Mr. Burke; the gentleman from West Virginia—Senator Davis—the men representing those sections, came together in the spirit to which I have referred, and the result of their labors is found in this majority report. A careful inspection of that report will show that the Democratic party is therein pledged to the encouragement of labor and to the support of a healthy growth of all industries in the United States.

The great central idea in the report, however, overshadowing every other, is the declaration of our determination to reform the Government in all its departments. Reform in the Executive Departments and the Government first; and with that reform, with these reforms, or after these reforms, we may correct other minor evils. Reform in administration, I repeat, overshadows every other demand that is presented for the consideration of the American people. All has probably been said that need to be said upon the contents of the report of the majority when I say it is practically the result of the labors and the concurrence of thirty-seven of the thirty-eight representatives whom you sent out to make it. There are distinct declarations in that document for the reduction of taxation. There is an allusion to the \$160,000,000 of surplus revenue which has been exacted from an unwilling people and which now lies in the Treasury of the United States, exciting the prodigality of some and the cupidity of others. We demand that that surplus shall be reduced by a reduction of taxation. I have occupied now all the time to which I am entitled. I do not desire to say any more. This covers the entire ground. The Democratic party are not engaged in any Sunday operation. We are sincere and earnest and determined in the work of reform. That is the watchword. And whoever may be the honorable gentleman whom this National Convention shall place upon the platform as its candidate will be elected President of the United States next November.



THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Kentucky, the Hon. Henry Watterson.

ADDRESS OF HON. HENRY WATTERSON, OF KENTUCKY.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: Since Gen. Butler has assured us that the adoption of the majority report of the Committee will prevent his helping us in the election, I fear that we shall have to throw ourselves on his other alternative and rely upon God, to Whom he has kindly referred us. For my own part I have never doubted that if this Convention should adopt an honest and a sound platform of principles, and should place upon that platform two representative statesmen of honorable repute and spotless lives, they would be the next President and Vice-President of the United States. Your Platform Committee have given you the platform. It is for you to give the country the ticket. It is an honest platform; entirely so. It is a sound platform; eminently so.

I shall not consume your time with reference to points which are not in dispute, but shall devote the time allotted to me to that clause which produced the most numerous and the most serious divisions.

I refer, of course, to the tariff clause. It was adopted after hours of patient, painstaking, and candid discussion. There were no subterfuges and no suppression, and I can say, and I believe it can be said by each member of the Committee, that we came away from our consultation feeling more kindly to one another and greater respect toward one another than when we went into it. And, moreover, we found after a full discussion that the differences between us were not so great as the country imagined, and, indeed, as we had imagined ourselves. We have given you a revenue plank upon which all of us can afford to stand. We say that the surplus in the Treasury proves the need for a change; nobody doubts that. We say that the policy of the Government from its foundation has been to raise a large share of its revenue through Custom Houses; nobody denies that. We say that this system must continue and we all agree to that. We say that the necessary amount of revenue can be collected off Customs duties and an internal tax upon distilled spirits and malt liquors; we all agree to that. We say that the reduction should be made so carefully as not to injure any interest which has relied upon the invitation of the Government, but rather to promote their healthy growth; all of us believe that, although to read some of the commentations of the enemy upon some of us, one would

imagine it our purpose to burn down the Custom Houses and blow up the factories.

And finally we denounce the abuses of the present war tariff, and we declare that all Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and that no more taxes shall be collected than are required to support the Government economically administered. I have never asked more than that, and less than that none of us are willing to accept.

Gen. Butler has said in your presence that he is a Free-Trader, and to prove it he comes into this Convention and offers a protectionist amendment to our revenue-reform plank. I am not a Free-Trader. I can imagine no system of taxation more oppressive or unequal in its execution than distribution of the costs of Government among the States. I believe that a well-regulated and moderate Custom House tax, yielding the necessary expenses of Government, is the lightest tax which can be imposed upon the people, and have always believed in a tariff.

Thus, gentlemen of the Convention, there is among your Committee, embracing representatives of the thirty-eight States of the Union, substantial agreement after thorough discussion and interchange of opinion upon a question which has divided the party hitherto very much more than it will ever divide it again. We have given you a platform upon which you can fight. We have given you a platform which cannot be misrepresented by the enemy. We have given you a platform which, when you have elected your nominees for President and Vice-President, will constitute a noble programme and policy as the purposes of the National Democracy.

MR. MORRISON, of Illinois: Mr. President, I move the previous question on the proposed amendment and the adoption of the report.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIR: The question is, shall the main question be now put. No debate on the question.

MR. SOWDEN, of Pennsylvania: Mr. Chairman, I rise to an inquiry.

THE CHAIR: What is the inquiry?

MR. SOWDEN: Will the gentleman from Massachusetts (General Butler) indicate what particular sections of the majority report should be eliminated for the substitution of that portion of his report relating to the tariff?

THE CHAIR: That will be done after the question on the previous

question is decided. The question is, Shall the main question be now put?

The motion was adopted.

THE CHAIR: The Chair will state that the motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts is to substitute in place of the tariff resolutions in the Committee's Report the four resolutions reported by him on the subject of the tariff, and then to add to the majority report the residue of his platform.

MR. SOWDEN, of Pennsylvania: Mr. Chairman, I arise again to repeat the question: what particular sections are referred to or indicated by the gentleman from Massachusetts that he would eliminate from the report of the majority of the Committee. There are too many branches to that subject.

THE CHAIR: All that relates to the tariff.

MR. SOWDEN: Which are they?

THE CHAIR: They are in the possession of the gentleman.

MR. SOWDEN: I desire an answer, in order that we may intelligently vote on the question.

THE CHAIR: It proposes, in that part of the majority report which treats of tariff only, to substitute this tariff plank which was read.

A DELEGATE: Read it again.

MR. SOWDEN: That is the plank in which it reads "tariff for revenue only," and I insist upon the gentleman from Massachusetts giving us intelligent information on this subject.

THE CHAIR: The Convention will please observe order. In the second column of the majority report as printed, beginning at the second paragraph of the second column with the words, "but in making reduction in taxes," and ending with the end of the fifth paragraph in the second column terminating with the words, "Government economically administered."

MR. SOWDEN, of Pennsylvania: It is satisfactory.

THE CHAIR: The motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts is to substitute his resolutions in the stead of the resolutions reported by the majority, striking out the majority resolutions, and then adding to the majority report the residue of his platform.

MR. SOWDEN: Now, Mr. Chairman, if it be in order, I desire to second the motion made by the gentleman from Massachusetts—

THE CHAIR: It is not in order.

MR. SOWDEN (continuing): To second the motion made by the gentleman from Massachusetts to substitute his in place of the report of the majority of the Committee. It has not as yet been seconded. Therefore, I second the motion made by the gentleman from Massachusetts.

THE CHAIR: It does not need a second.

MR. SPENCER, of California: I arise for information. I understood the gentleman from Massachusetts to say in his motion that he proposed to submit his amendment in lieu of simply that upon the question of tariff, and that that which followed was a matter of no consequence; and do I understand the motion now as a whole to substitute not only what he said on tariff, but that which follows, in lieu of the majority report on the tariff? I move that the question be divided.

THE CHAIR: One moment. The Chair will state the question again for your information. Instead of the part indicated in the second column of the majority report, the motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts (General Butler) is to substitute his four resolutions, and to add to the report the residue of his resolutions.

MR. SPENCER: That is all one motion, then. I move now that the question be divided; first, upon the tariff question.

THE CHAIR: A motion to strike out and insert is not divisible; but a motion to add the residue might be. The Chair will recognize a division of the motion in this way. The first question to be put is the motion to strike out of the majority report the indicated part, and to substitute the four resolutions proposed by the gentleman from Massachusetts in his platform. Is the Convention ready for the question?

MR. POWERS, of Michigan: I call for the roll of States.

THE CHAIR: The roll-call is demanded and allowed. The clerk will call the roll.

The State of Alabama was called.

A DELEGATE: One moment. The Convention does not fully understand the question now before it.

THE CHAIR: The Chair will again state the question before it, and ask the gentleman to give their attention. The question now submitted to the house is to strike out the indicated portion of the majority report and substitute the four resolutions

proposed by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Gen. Butler]. A vote aye is to strike out and substitute.

GEN. DURBIN WARD, of Ohio: I move that the Convention adjourn until to-morrow morning.

THE CHAIR: No motion to adjourn is in order. The roll-call is in order.

GEN. WARD: Give us some time here upon this, and let us adjourn until to-morrow morning.

THE CHAIR: No motion is in order.

GEN. WARD: Is not a motion to adjourn in order?

THE CHAIR: No, sir.

MR. LARUE, of California: For information I would like to have the resolutions read that are proposed to be inserted; we want to know how to vote, not having heard the resolution read but once.

THE CHAIR: The roll must be called.

MR. LARUE: Is it not in order, though, to have the resolutions read?

The Secretary then proceeded with the roll-call.

J. B. MANN, of Illinois: I rise to a question of privilege.

THE CHAIR: What is the question of privilege?

MR. MANN: My question of privilege is that that part which we are asked to strike out may be read for the information of the Convention.

THE CHAIR: The call of the roll will proceed.

MR. LARUE, of California: The resolutions that have been proposed to be inserted have only been read once, and I propose to know how I am voting. I ask to have them read for information. It certainly is in order during the roll-call to have the resolutions proposed to be inserted read.

THE CHAIR [to the Secretary]: Pass over a printed copy of the resolutions to the gentleman from California.

When the vote of Indiana was announced Mr. Voorhees said:

"Mr. Chairman, I desire to be recorded especially aye."

The vote of Arkansas was first cast as four ayes and six noes, and subsequently changed as shown below.



Upon the completion of the call the Chairman said:  
 "The Clerk will announce the result of the vote:"

The Clerk announced the result as follows :

Total vote cast.....	818
Ayes .....	96½
Noes.....	721½
Not voting.....	2
Majority against.....	625

#### THE VOTE IN DETAIL.

<i>States.</i>	<i>Total vote.</i>	<i>Yeas.</i>	<i>Nays.</i>	<i>States.</i>	<i>Total vote.</i>	<i>Yeas.</i>	<i>Nays.</i>
Alabama .....	20	..	20	New York.....	72	..	72
Arkansas.....	14	5	9	North Carolina.....	22	..	22
California... ..	16	12	4	Ohio .....	46	4	42
Colorado.....	6	..	6	Oregon.....	6	..	6
Connecticut .....	12	..	12	Pennsylvania .....	60	11	48
Delaware.....	6	..	6	Rhode Island.....	8	..	8
Florida .....	8	..	8	South Carolina.....	18	..	18
Georgia.....	24	..	24	Tennessee.....	24	..	24
Illinois.....	44	7	37	Texas .....	26	2	24
Indiana .....	30	8	22	Vermont.....	8	..	8
Iowa .....	26	..	26	Virginia .....	24	..	24
Kansas .....	18	..	18	West Virginia.....	12	..	12
Kentucky.....	26	..	26	Wisconsin.....	22	..	22
Louisiana.....	16	..	16	Arizona.....	2	..	2
Maine.....	12	..	12	Dakota .....	2	..	2
Maryland .....	16	..	16	District of Columbia .	2	..	2
Massachusetts.....	28	20½	6½	Idaho.....	2	..	2
Michigan .....	26	12	14	Montana.....	2	..	2
Minnesota. \.....	14	..	14	New Mexico.....	2	..	2
Mississippi.....	18	..	18	Utah.....	2	1	1
Missouri .....	32	..	32	Washington.....	2	..	2
Nebraska .....	10	..	10	Wyoming.....	2	..	2
Nevada .....	6	2	4				
New Hampshire.....	8	1	7				
New Jersey.....	18	11	7				
				Total.....	820	96½	721½

THE CHAIR: That part of the motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts to strike out of the majority report so much as related to the tariff, as indicated, and insert the four resolutions, is lost. The question recurs on the remainder of his motion, as it was divided, to add to the platform as reported by the Committee the residue of his platform.

MR. FENLON, of Kansas: I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. Is it in order now to definitely postpone that?

THE CHAIR: No. The question is on the adoption.

GEN. CLUNIE, of California: I understood that Gen. Butler did not propose to urge the tariff plank. He withdrew that plank.

GEN. BUTLER: I only proposed to argue the tariff part of it. The rest will be put to vote.

MR. STEVENSON, of Illinois: I rise to a privileged motion. In order that the members of the Convention may receive that platform I move that we take a recess until half-past ten to-morrow morning.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman is out of order—the motion is out of order. The question is on the adoption of the motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts to add the residue of his platform to that reported by the majority of the Committee.

The motion was then put and lost.

THE CHAIR: The motion is now upon the adoption of the majority report.

MR. A. O. BACON, of Georgia: I rise to ask if the original draft coming from the Committee is in the house, that the paragraph with reference to the Internal Revenue may be read. I will state that my reason for making the request is that a member of the Committee expresses the opinion that the printed paragraph does not correspond with the original draft.

THE CHAIR: Will the gentleman from Georgia state in what respect he understands that it fails to correspond?

MR. BACON: I am about to do so.

THE CHAIR: What part of the sheet?

MR. BACON: It is in the middle of the second column—the paragraph with reference to Internal Revenue. I am informed by a member of that Committee that, according to his recollection, that paragraph should read as follows: “The system of direct taxation known as the Internal Revenue is a war tax”—now come the words that the member says should be in—“and should be abolished, but so long as the law continues,” etc. In other words, the opinion of the member is that the words “should be abolished” were in the original draft and are not in the printed copy. I rise for the purpose of inquiring whether or not the member is correct in the opinion which he expresses.

THE CHAIR: The gentlemen from Georgia (Mr. Bacon) is informed that the only variation between the original written resolution in the hands of the Committee and the printed draft, in the points to which he refers, is that the word "money" is in the singular in the printed copy, and in the plural in the original draft.

MR. BACON: All right.

GEN. BUTLER: Will the Chair allow me to explain?

THE CHAIR: Gen. Butler simply desired to state that there was another part, which was submitted, but was not adopted by the Committee.

GEN. BUTLER: I did not say that; I say it is not here now.

MR. P. J. CARMODY, of Missouri: I move that Gen. Butler have a respectful hearing.

THE CHAIR: There is no debate or hearing now in order. The question is upon the adoption of the report of the majority of the Committee.

The report of the majority was then adopted.

MR. JENKINS, of Wisconsin: I beg to present a resolution and to move the previous question upon its adoption.

The resolution was sent to the reading-desk and read by the Clerk, as follows:

*"Resolved, That this Convention do now proceed to ballot for a candidate for President, and that a call of the States be now ordered for that purpose."*

THE CHAIR: The gentleman demands upon his resolution the previous question. The question is, Shall the main question be now put?

The motion was carried.

THE CHAIR: The question recurs upon the resolution offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. Jenkins. The Clerk will read the resolution.

The clerk read the resolution, as follows:

*"Resolved, That this Convention do now proceed to ballot for a candidate for President, and that a call of the States be ordered for that purpose."*

MR. DENNIS SPENCER, of California: I second the resolution and ask for a call of the States on the question.

MR. JNO. F. HOUSE, of Tennessee: What is the question?

THE CHAIR: The Convention has just adopted a resolution that we proceed to ballot for a candidate for President and the roll is now being called to take that ballot.

MR. HOUSE: Alabama demanded a vote by States and the Chair recognized Alabama and called for a vote by States.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman is out of order, because the resolution was carried.

MR. HOUSE: The resolution was not put at all; the noes were not called for. Alabama called for a vote by States. I appeal from the decision of the Chair, and on that I call for the votes by States.

THE CHAIR: The Chair heard the gentleman from California make a call, and asked if there was a second, and heard none.

MR. HOUSE: I appeal from the decision of the Chair, and on that I call for a vote by States.

THE CHAIR: The question is, Shall the Chair be sustained?

The decision of the Chair was sustained.

MR. HOUSE: The Chair disregards all parliamentary rules, but if the Chair chooses to do it, he can.

MR. MCCAFFERTY, of Massachusetts: I move that the geese be turned out of this building. Those who are not within the enclosure are constantly disturbing this Convention by hissing like geese.

THE CHAIR: The Sergeant-at-Arms will pay particular attention to that part of the house, and will take out any person whom he detects interrupting.

MR. T. F. GRADY, of New York: Mr. Chairman, I ask the Chair to enforce the order of the Convention while the vote is being taken, that Delegates retain their seats, and that the aisles be cleared so that business may proceed.

THE CHAIR: The suggestion of the gentleman from New York is proper and right. Delegates will take their seats, and any obstruction of the aisles must be immediately discontinued. The gentleman from Mississippi has the floor.

MR. W. C. FAULKNER, of Mississippi: I make the motion that this

Convention suspend its order of business for the purpose of taking a recess until to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Mississippi, Mr. Faulkner, moves that the Convention suspend the order of business upon which it has entered for the purpose of moving a recess until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

MR. FAULKNER: On that motion I call for a vote of States.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman calls for a vote on that question by States, and the Chair hears it seconded by two.

MR. HARBER, of Missouri: It is only seconded by two. I understand it must be seconded by five.

THE CHAIR: The Chairman is of the opinion that receiving a second of two States is sufficient.

MR. MCCAFFERTY, of Massachusetts: Massachusetts seconds the call.

THE CHAIR: The call of the States will proceed on the motion of the gentleman to suspend the order of business, with a view to a motion to take a recess until to-morrow morning.

MR. JOHN POWER, of Michigan: I rise to a point of order. It is out of order to interrupt a roll-call already begun.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman's point of order is overruled. The call of the roll of States on the question whether the order of business shall be suspended will now begin. A vote aye is a vote to suspend the order of business. A vote no is a vote to proceed.

The call of the roll was then begun.

MR. COCKRAN, of New York: The Secretary made a mistake in the call of the vote of Delaware.

Delaware was again called. After the announcement of New York's vote Senator Grady, of New York, said:

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Delegation from New York has not been called. No vote has been taken.

THE CHAIR: The Chair will recognize the gentleman from New York, to make any objection, after the call of the roll has been completed and before any vote is announced.



MR. DURBIN WARD, of Ohio: Has the vote of Ohio been reported.

THE CHAIR: No; I think not.

MR. WARD: I challenge it.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman is not in order. If there is any objection to the vote of Ohio it will be heard after the call of the roll.

MR. JNO. R. MCLEAN, of Ohio: Please pass Ohio.

THE CHAIR: Ohio will be passed.

At the conclusion of the call Senator Grady, of New York, said :

MR. CHAIRMAN: While the roll of States was being called I raised a point of order that the Delegation from New York had not been polled. Afterwards I was informed that one of the tellers thought it was not necessary that the votes of the minority should be taken. The other teller had taken the vote of the minority of the Delegation against the proposition, and upon that Mr. Manning reported the seventy-two votes of the Delegation as against the resolution.

MR. COCKRAN: Mr. Chairman, I desire to challenge the vote in this respect, that there are but forty votes polled in the State of New York. The other thirty remained silent in their seats. I want to know if the judgment of this Convention requires not only that the votes of those who have voted shall be counted, but also to go outside and manufacture votes of those not cast?

THE CHAIR: The Chair understands that the poll of New York was taken, and the Chairman announced the vote of the State as exhibited by a majority of her Delegation as a unit under instruction from the State Convention. Inasmuch as the Convention has heard and settled that question there is no rightful challenge by the gentleman.

MR. COCKRAN: Mr. Chairman, I ask the Chair if the decision of this Convention was not that the votes of New York, as cast, should be cast as a unit; here there are but forty votes polled, and I desire to know if it is the understanding of this Convention that the unit rule, so called, can operate to create votes as well as to gag a minority.

THE CHAIR: If the Chair understands the gentleman from New York a majority of the Delegation voted according to the announcement of the Chairman of the Delegation, and his objection is overruled, and the vote of the State will be recorded as announced by the Chairman. The noes have it, and the motion is lost.

## THE VOTE.

## THE READING CLERK:

Total vote cast.....	819
Ayes.....	190½
Nays.....	628½

The vote in detail was as follows:

<i>States.</i>	<i>Total vote.</i>	<i>Ayes.</i>	<i>Noes.</i>	<i>States.</i>	<i>Total vote.</i>	<i>Ayes.</i>	<i>Noes.</i>
Alabama.....	20	12	7	New York.....	72	..	72
Arkansas.....	14	..	14	North Carolina.....	22	..	22
California.....	16	16	..	Ohio.....	46	1	45
Colorado.....	6	..	6	Oregon.....	6	4	2
Connecticut.....	12	..	12	Pennsylvania.....	60	34	26
Delaware.....	6	5	1	Rhode Island.....	8	..	8
Florida.....	8	..	8	South Carolina.....	18	9	9
Georgia.....	24	7	17	Tennessee.....	24	15	9
Illinois.....	44	2	42	Texas.....	26	1	25
Indiana.....	30	..	30	Vermont.....	8	..	8
Iowa.....	26	2	24	Virginia.....	24	6	18
Kansas.....	18	..	18	West Virginia.....	12	..	12
Kentucky.....	26	..	26	Wisconsin.....	22	..	22
Louisiana.....	16	..	16	<i>Territories.</i>			
Maine.....	12	..	12	Arizona.....	2	..	2
Maryland.....	16	..	16	Dakota.....	2	..	2
Massachusetts.....	28	17½	10½	District of Columbia.....	2	..	2
Michigan.....	26	10	16	Idaho.....	2	..	2
Minnesota.....	14	..	14	Montana.....	2	..	2
Mississippi.....	18	17	1	New Mexico.....	2	..	2
Missouri.....	32	9	23	Utah.....	2	2	..
Nebraska.....	10	2	8	Washington.....	2	..	2
Nevada.....	6	5	1	Wyoming.....	2	..	2
New Hampshire.....	8	..	8				
New Jersey.....	18	14	4				
				Total.....	820	190½	628½

Majority against..... 538

THE CHAIR: The Chair desires to say to the galleries and the audience outside of the Convention that the ballot will proceed with more expedition and with more advantage if there be no interruptions, and to the Delegates the Chair desires to say that he hopes there will be the best of order preserved, for it is very difficult for the clerks to be heard at best.

HON. M. J. McCafferty, of Massachusetts: I want to ask now that during this vote if any demonstrations are made by hissing the parties be summarily ejected from this room.

THE CHAIR: The Chair has already given directions to the Sergeant-at-Arms which he believes to be sufficient to prevent that recurrence.

The roll-call was then proceeded with.

After the vote of Illinois had been announced by Gov. Palmer, and one vote being cast for Mr. Hendricks, Mr. Hendricks of Indiana arose and said:

"May I ask the gentleman that cast a vote for me from the State of Illinois to withdraw that vote? It places me wrongly before this Convention."

THE CHAIR: The vote of a State cannot be changed until the end of the roll-call under the order of the Convention. The remarks of the gentleman from Indiana will of course then be in order, for he commands the Democratic party.

When New York was reached, Daniel Manning announced 72 votes for Cleveland and said:

"Mr. Chairman, I wish to add that in the Delegation (the proceeding by which this conclusion was reached was under the unit rule) the vote stood 49 for Cleveland. Twenty-three have other preferences, embracing the names of Messrs. Bayard, Slocum, and Flower."

The vote of Massachusetts, as announced by Mr. Abbott, was: Cleveland, 3; Bayard, 23; Thurman, 2.

The vote of Ohio was announced by John R. McLean as: Thurman, 24; Hoadly, 21; Cleveland, 1.

When the roll was finished, Mr. Abbott of Massachusetts, said:

I desire, sir, to correct the vote of Massachusetts as declared by me. The correct vote should be 25 for Bayard, Cleveland 5, Thurman 2.

MR. MCLEAN: Ohio desires to make a change in her vote.

GEN. WARNER, of Ohio: Mr. President, I challenge the right of the Chairman of this Delegation to change the vote without first again polling the vote of the Delegation.

MR. MCLEAN: I am here representing eighteen votes for Grover Cleveland, and demand the right to announce them.

GEN. WARNER : That I challenge until a new poll of the vote has been made.

MR. McLEAN : As Chairman of the Ohio Delegation, I ask permission to have a re-poll.

THE CHAIR : The Chairman of the Delegation will announce the vote.

GEN. WARNER : To that I object. The vote has already been cast.

THE CHAIR : Ohio has the right to change her vote if she wishes before the result is announced.

GEN. WARNER : Then it should be re-poll.

THE CHAIR : The gentleman will remember that such was the order of the Convention, specially adopted in its rules. The change cannot be made until after the call of the roll is completed. The Chair is requested to announce that one of the rules of the House of Representatives, which has been adopted as a Rule of the Convention, is that smoking be not allowed upon the floor of the House, nor in the galleries.

MR. D. H. LEONARD, of West Virginia : West Virginia desires to correct her vote. She now votes 1 for Randall, 2 for Bayard, 7 for Cleveland, and 2 for Thurman.

MR. J. R. McLEAN, of Ohio : Ohio is now ready. I wish to correct the vote. There was a mistake. There were 21 for Cleveland. Hoadly 2 and 23 for Thurman.

THE CHAIR : The Convention will listen to the announcement of the vote.

The Secretary announced the vote as follows :

Total number of votes cast.....	820
Necessary to a choice.....	547
R. P. Flower.....	4
S. J. Tilden.....	1
George Hoadly.....	3
S. J. Randall.....	78
T. A. Hendricks.....	1
J. G. Carlisle.....	27
A. G. Thurman.....	88
J. E. McDonald.....	56
T. F. Bayard.....	170
Grover Cleveland.....	392

The ballot in detail was as follows :

STATES.	TOTAL VOTE.	CLEVELAND	BAYARD.	McDONALD.	THURMAN.	RANDALL.	CARLISLE.	HOADLY.	HENDRICKS.	TILDEN.	FLOWER.
Alabama.....	20	4	14	1	1						
Arkansas.....	14	14									
California.....	16				16						
Colorado.....	6			5	1						
Connecticut.....	12	12									
Delaware.....	6		6								
Florida.....	8	8									
Georgia.....	24	10	12			2					
Illinois.....	44	28	2	11	1	1			1		
Indiana.....	30			30							
Iowa.....	26	23	1	1	1						
Kansas.....	18	11	5		2						
Kentucky.....	26						26				
Louisiana.....	16	13	1		1			1			
Maine.....	12	12									
Maryland.....	16	6	10								
Massachusetts.....	28	5	21		2						
Michigan.....	26	14	1		11						
Minnesota.....	14	14									
Mississippi.....	18	1	15		1	1					
Missouri.....	32	15	10	1	3	3					
Nebraska.....	10	8	1		1						
Nevada.....	6				6						
New Hampshire.....	8	8									
New Jersey.....	18	4	3			11					
New York.....	72	72									
North Carolina.....	22		22								
Ohio.....	46	21			23			2			
Oregon.....	6	2	4								
Pennsylvania.....	60	5				55					
Rhode Island.....	8	6	2								
South Carolina.....	18	8	10								
Tennessee.....	24	2	8	3	9	1				1	
Texas.....	26	11	10	1	4						
Vermont.....	8	8									
Virginia.....	24	13	9	1	1						
West Virginia.....	12	7	2		2	1					
Wisconsin.....	22	12	1	2	2		1				4
<i>Territories.</i>											
Arizona.....	2	2									
Dakota.....	2	2									
District of Columbia.....	2					2					
Idaho.....	2	2									
Montana.....	2	2									
New Mexico.....	2	2									
Utah.....	2	2									
Washington.....	2	1				1					
Wyoming.....	2	2									
Total.....	820	392	170	56	88	78	27	3	1	1	4

Necessary to a choice.....547



MR. M. J. McCAFFERTY, of Massachusetts: Mr. Chairman, I move that the Convention do now adjourn until to-morrow morning at half-past ten o'clock, and on that motion I move to call the roll of States.

The motion was seconded by Alabama and Pennsylvania.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. McCafferty, moves that the Convention do now adjourn until to-morrow morning at half-past ten o'clock.

THE CHAIR: The Chair has already advised the galleries that the most effectual way of obstructing the proceedings is to interrupt.

MR. H. C. TOMPKINS, of Alabama: The gentleman on the motion to adjourn called for the roll of States. Alabama seconded that motion for the call of the States.

SENATOR W. A. WALLACE, of Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania also seconded it.

THE CHAIR: On the motion to adjourn a call of the States is ordered. All in favor of the motion to adjourn until half-past ten to-morrow will vote aye, and those opposed will vote no when the roll of States is called. The Chair was stating the question. The roll of States will now be called. The gentlemen will please keep as much order as possible while taking the vote.

The Secretary then proceeded to call the roll of States on Mr. McCafferty's motion.

THE CHAIR: The announcement of the vote.

THE READING CLERK: Whole number of votes cast 816; ayes, 404; noes, 412.

THE CHAIR: The noes have it. The Convention will be in order. The motion to adjourn is lost. The order of business is to proceed to a second ballot.

GEN. BLACK, of Illinois: Mr. Chairman, the tally is incorrect. The State of Illinois cast but thirty-eight votes, showing six less than her forty-four, and that makes the difference more than the difference announced. I call for a verification of the vote.

MR. MENZIES, of Indiana : I call for a roll of the States for the verification of the vote. That is always in order.

THE CHAIR : Will the gentlemen from Illinois and Indiana state what vote they suppose to have been incorrect as cast ?

GEN. BLACK : The vote of the State of Illinois was but thirty-eight.

THE CHAIR : It is so recorded.

GEN. BLACK : Yes, sir ; but the total vote announced from the stand was 816, which cannot be correct, there being a total vote of 820 only.

THE CHAIR : There are 820 votes in the Convention.

GEN. BLACK : Yes, sir ; but Illinois has six short, and the tally shows only four short.

THE CHAIR : The vote as recorded by the Secretary will be read, in order that it may be corrected if there be any mistake.

GEN. BLACK : Before the announcement of that vote from the Chair I desire to be recognized to challenge the vote and to call for a verification of the vote.

THE CHAIR : The vote has not yet been announced.

GEN. BLACK : Before it is announced I desire to be recognized for that purpose.

THE CHAIR : For the purpose of verification the Clerk will now call the roll, announcing the vote as it has been recorded, and if there be any error in it, the error will be corrected.

The Reading Clerk recalled the roll for purposes of verification, and at the close the Chairman announced the result.

THE CHAIR : The total number of votes cast was 813—ayes, 401 ; noes, 412 ; not voting, 7.

The motion is lost.

The vote in detail was as follows :

## THE DETAILED VOTE.

<i>States.</i>	<i>Total Vote.</i>	<i>Ayes.</i>	<i>Noes.</i>	<i>States.</i>	<i>Total Vote.</i>	<i>Ayes.</i>	<i>Noes.</i>
Alabama.....	20	17	3	New York.....	72	..	72
Arkansas.....	14	..	14	North Carolina.....	22	16	6
California.....	16	16	..	Ohio.....	45	21	24
Colorado.....	6	4	2	Oregon.....	6	4	2
Connecticut.....	12	..	12	Pennsylvania.....	60	47	13
Delaware.....	6	6	..	Rhode Island.....	8	1	7
Florida.....	8	..	8	South Carolina.....	18	18	..
Georgia.....	24	13	11	Tennessee.....	24	19	5
Illinois.....	38	21	17	Texas.....	26	18	8
Indiana.....	30	30	..	Vermont... ..	8	..	8
Iowa.....	26	1	25	Virginia.....	24	10	14
Kansas.....	18	6	12	West Virginia.....	12	3	9
Kentucky.....	26	20	6	Wisconsin.....	22	3	19
Louisiana.....	16	..	16	Arizona.....	2	..	2
Maine.....	11	..	12	Dakota.....	2	..	2
Maryland.....	16	1	15	District of Columbia..	2	2	..
Massachusetts .....	28	17	11	Idaho.....	2	..	2
Michigan.....	26	22	4	Montana.....	2	..	2
Minnesota.....	14	..	14	New Mexico.....	2	2	..
Mississippi.....	18	17	1	Utah.....	2	..	2
Missouri.....	32	26	6	Washington.....	2	..	2
Nebraska.....	10	3	7	Wyoming.....	2	..	2
Nevada.....	6	6	..				
New Hampshire.....	8	..	8				
New Jersey.....	18	11	7				
				Total.....	813	401	412

THE CHAIR : The gentleman from New Jersey I recognize first as rising first.

HON. LEON ABBETT, of New Jersey : I move this Convention do now adjourn until 11 o'clock to-morrow morning ; I change my motion from 11 to 10 o'clock, and call for the roll of the States.

MR. SPENCER, of California : I second the motion.

MR. MENZIES, of Indiana : I second the motion for a call of the States.

MR. BRIGGS, of Illinois : I raise a point of order.

THE CHAIR : The gentleman will state his point of order.

MR. BRIGGS : My point of order is, that during the call of the roll of States a motion to adjourn is out of order.

THE CHAIR : The Chair is of the opinion that the motion of the gentleman from New Jersey is in order, and a call of the roll of

States having been demanded, the roll will now be called on the motion to adjourn until eleven o'clock.

THE OFFICIAL STENOGRAPHER [to the Chair] : He changed it to ten.

THE CHAIR : Until ten o'clock.

MR. ABBETT : I withdraw my motion to adjourn.

MR. SPENCER, of California : I renew the motion, then.

THE CHAIR : The gentlemen will take their seats. Does the Chair understand that the gentleman from New Jersey withdraws the motion?

MR. SOWDEN : The gentleman from California declines to withdraw his motion, and insists upon a call of the roll of States.

MR. MANNING, of New York : I simply rise to second the motion to adjourn.

THE CHAIR : The call of the roll will proceed. The Chair was misinformed.

MR. T. P. FENLON, of Kansas : I move that we adjourn without a call of the States.

THE CHAIR : The question is on the motion to suspend the order of business.

The motion was carried.

A DELEGATE : I move we adjourn until ten o'clock to-morrow.

The motion was put and declared carried, and the Convention, at 1.16 A. M., adjourned to July 11th, 1884, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

## FOURTH DAY.

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### MORNING SESSION.

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CHICAGO, July 11, 1884.

The Convention was called to order by the Chairman at 11 o'clock, A. M., as follows :

The Convention will please come to order. The proceedings of the day will be opened by prayer by the Rev. Dr. Clinton Locke, of Grace Church, Chicago. The Convention will please rise.

#### PRAYER.

Almighty God, Ruler of Rulers, the author of all counsel and all wisdom, look down graciously on this assembly of Thy children in Thy name and in Thy presence. Save them from error, pride, and prejudice. Direct and inspire all their consultations for the furtherance of just and equal laws, for the preservation of liberty, for the punishment of wrong-doers, and the praise of them that do well. Keep every Delegate in this Convention from being guided by his own selfish aims, by his own private likes or dislikes, by the fear of what shall be said ; but may each one have before him only the public good, the choice of the best man for the best place. In that great and noble contest which is opening before this American people grant, O Lord, to all this country a cessation of strife and anger. May our eyes never be blinded to that which is fair and just. May all corruption, bribery, and illegal voting be far from us, and, after this election, may all join loyally to support the President of the United States. Thou hast been very gracious to this land, O Lord, and refreshedst it when it was weary. Continue Thy blessings upon it, and grant us Thy grace that all our work, begun, continued, and



ended in Thee, may glorify Thy holy name and advance the interests of our fellow-men, through the merits of Jesus Christ, our Saviour and our Redeemer. Amen.

THE CHAIR: The gentlemen will please come to order. The Chair begs of the members of the Convention, admonished that his vocal organs will surrender sometime, that they will do their utmost to assist in the maintenance of order in the Convention during the day. And the Chair will assure every Delegate that, if that be done, he will be heard if he makes application to the Chair. It is only confusion and disorder which prevents the hearing by the Chair of the applications of Delegates and renders necessary a peremptory course exceedingly unpleasant, which would be unnecessary if one-tenth the restraint were imposed upon himself by each Delegate which is imposed upon the Chair.

MR. MORRISON MUNFORD, of Missouri: I have a resolution relating to the immediate business of this Convention, which I ask to be read and immediately considered.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Missouri offers a resolution. Before the resolution is read I ask to make two or three announcements that are necessary. The Clerk, Mr. Bell, will read the invitation.

The Clerk Mr. Nicholas M. Bell read as follows:

CALDWELL, O., July 10.

*To Chairman Vilas, National Democratic Convention:*

Private Soldiers' Non-Political National Union, held here September 17, respectfully invite you and Convention, individually, which please tender to the Convention.

The Secretary also read the following:

"There will be a general ratification meeting held in this hall under the auspices of the National Veteran Association on the evening following the *sine-die* adjournment of the Convention, at 8.30 P. M."

THE CHAIR: The Chair has received numerous telegrams from individuals in different parts of the country, suggesting nominations, and similar suggestions, which he supposes it is unnecessary to have read to the Convention, but asks leave to enter them in the proceedings if desired. If not so ordered they will not be entered nor read. The Chair also has received two letters—one from Mrs. Horace Goodwin, of Massachusetts, tendering a presentation of a gavel to

be transmitted to the nominee of the Convention for the office of President ; and also a letter tendering a presentation of a gavel from Mr. H. B. Hiteshew, of Chicago. The Chair asks leave to have these letters printed, either with the proceedings or as an appendix to the proceedings. No objection being heard, the Chair will assume leave to be given.

They are as follows :

BOSTON, July 1, 1884.

*To the Chairman of the*

*National Democratic Convention of 1884:*

DEAR SIR—I have this day intrusted to the care of a friend, Mr. Edward C. Corrigan, of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, a gavel, made from historic relics, which, with letters personal and descriptive, I have requested him to give to you for your use during the Convention. Although this is but an humble offering, may I ask that you do me the honor to accept it, and at the close of the Convention present it to the nominee of our party, the next President of the United States.

Your friend,

MRS. HORACE GOODWIN.

BOSTON, Mass, July 1, 1884.

*To the Democratic Presidential Candidate of 1884:*

DEAR SIR—Please to accept this historic token, with the best wishes of a friend.

May the noble lives and deeds it attests be your inspiration and guide.

That you may go forth with the trust and fidelity of a Washington and a Lincoln, a Puritanic devotion to our cause, and come again with "Vivi, Vidi, Vici" on your standards is the earnest hope and wish of

Your friend,

MRS. HORACE GOODWIN.

485 Shawmut Avenue.

*Descriptive of the Gavel.*

The head is of "Charter Oak," from the famous Connecticut tree in which the Charter granted May 10, 1662, was deposited October 31, 1687. The tree fell on the morning of July 21, 1856, and this

piece was presented to my late husband, Major Horace Goodwin, Commander of the Putnam Phalanx, by the owner of the tree, I. W. Stewart, M.C., from Connecticut. The handle is palmetto wood from South Carolina. The small panels are inlaid as follows, reading from the motto:

No. 1.—A piece of General Israel Putnam's birch torch, found in the wolf's den by a boy, who, when eighty years of age, gave it to my husband as the Commander of the Phalanx, on his return with the battalion from the grave of General Putnam, at Pomfret, Conn.

No. 2.—Is marble which I selected while in Rome from Caius Julius Cæsar's palace.

No. 3.—A piece of President Lincoln's log cabin.

No. 4.—Petrified wood from the tomb of Washington, in which his remains were first interred, which relic was given to my husband while his battalion was visiting Mount Vernon.

No. 5.—Wood from the old elm on Boston Common.

MRS. HORACE GOODWIN.

BOSTON, July 1, 1884.

CHICAGO, July 8, 1884.

*To the Chairman of the*

*Democratic National Convention, Chicago, Ill.:*

DEAR SIR—It gives me great pleasure to present to you herewith a gavel which is made from the woods from every State and Territory in the Union, including Alaska, and all of which surround and support in the centre a wood from the District of Columbia, and the handle of which is made from the Charter Oak of Hartford, Connecticut. As an ardent and enthusiastic believer in the principles which the Democratic party represents, as enunciated by Jackson and Jefferson, I may express the hope that those principles at the ensuing Presidential election shall ripen into power, in which case this gavel will be a perfect and fit emblem of the solidity and unity of the States, represented not only in the construction of the gavel, but also by the inscription upon the bands—"E Pluribus Unum."

Respectfully,

H. B. HITESHEW.

The resolution of the gentleman from Missouri will now be read.

The resolution offered by Mr. Munford was then read from the desk by the Reading Clerk as follows:

*"Resolved,* That on a roll-call of the States for the nomination of President or Vice-President the vote of a State, when once announced, shall not be changed until the succeeding ballot."

MR. MUNFORD : I move the adoption of the resolution, and on that I call for the previous question.

The resolution was lost.

MR. ORESTES CLEVELAND, of New Jersey: Mr. Chairman, I have a formal resolution to offer, which is the same as that offered at the last Convention. It is necessary that it should be acted upon by this Convention.

The resolution was read by the Clerk, as follows :

*"Resolved,* That the official stenographer and Recording Secretary be requested to prepare the proceedings of this Convention to be printed in the proper form, and that the National Committee cause a suitable number of copies to be distributed among the Delegates to the Convention and such others as may be entitled to receive them.

The resolution was adopted.

MR. GEORGE SMITH, of Pennsylvania : I move that we now proceed to a ballot for the nomination of a President by a call of the roll of the States.

THE CHAIR : The gentleman from Pennsylvania moves that we now proceed to ballot for President by a call of the roll of the States.

MR. ECKLEY B. COX, Chairman of the Pennsylvania Delegation: Mr. President, Pennsylvania, thanking those sincerely who voted with us, withdraws the name of Samuel J. Randall.

THE CHAIR : There is too much conversation for the orderly conduct of the business. Will the audience please refrain? The Chair would state to the gentleman from Pennsylvania that he understands the order adopted last night makes it the regular order of business to proceed to a call of the roll for another ballot, and so on until a nomination is made, unless that be suspended. The Clerk will, therefore, call the roll of States for a second ballot for a candidate for President of the United States. After Alabama is called time will be given for a full collection of the votes ; but when the Clerk begins to call the roll it will be supposed the vote has been collected,

and then the Chair requests all Delegates to keep their seats and preserve order that the call may be heard, and the vote of each State heard by every one.

The roll of the States was then called by Mr. Bell, the Reading Clerk. When Illinois was called, and the Chairman of the Delegation announced the vote of that State as including "one vote for Thomas A. Hendricks," a remarkable demonstration occurred. Beginning at 11.18 A. M. in the galleries, it spread through the entire audience; they rose to their feet and for twenty-seven minutes by the watch the cheering was uninterrupted. It appeared to be a determined and possibly a preconcerted attempt to "stampede" the Convention to Mr. Hendricks. The Chairman at first sought to restore order by a vigorous use of the gavel, but finding it unavailing, he wisely permitted the audience to wear themselves out; at no time was there any marked participation in the confusion by the body of Delegates. A careful computation made by the official Stenographer during the thirty minutes of uproar revealed the fact that, when the tumult was at its height, not more than twenty-five per cent. of the Delegates were upon their feet or in any way joining the galleries in their demonstration. At 11.50 the Convention was reduced to comparative order by the Chairman, who announced Mr. Daniel Voorhees, of Indiana, who had in the meantime ascended the platform and stood waiting for the Convention to listen to him.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Indiana has the floor. Delegates will take their seats and let the aisles be cleared.

MR. VOORHEES: Gentlemen of the Convention, I understand



there is a call of the roll of the States in progress at this time. I am reminded by the Chairman that nominations are not now in order. I stand before you, however, at the unanimous request of the Delegation of which I am a member, to withdraw the name of Joseph E. McDonald for the purpose, at the proper time, of casting the vote of Indiana for Thomas A. Hendricks.

A renewal of the confusion here occurred, but it was speedily checked.

THE CHAIR : Let the audience preserve order and have this roll-call carried through properly. Gentlemen will take their seats and leave the aisles. The call of the roll will proceed.

THE READING CLERK : Illinois.

THE CHAIR : The gentleman from Illinois.

GEN. BLACK, of Illinois : By direction of the Delegation from the State of Illinois I cast for them thirty-eight votes for Grover Cleveland.

The audience broke out again, nearly all rising to their feet, as did many of the Delegates, and waved their hats and handkerchiefs.

The Chair rapped in vain with the gavel, the audience, after a lull, resuming the disturbance, introducing the feature of stamping. The band struck up "America," and next "We won't go home till morning." At the expiration of five minutes hissing commenced, and this at length secured quiet.

THE CHAIR : The Chair begs to say that, hitherto, through a tumultuous and exciting debate, the Convention has conducted itself with great order, and he hopes they will preserve their temper and judgment to the end. The gentleman from Illinois will proceed.

THE READING CLERK : Illinois casts thirty-eight votes for Grover Cleveland.

GEN. BLACK : Three for Bayard, one for McDonald. One additional vote for Hendricks since the prior vote—one more. Hendricks has gained a vote.

J. B. MANN, of Illinois, Mr. Chairman: In emulation of the distinguished example of the Senator from Indiana allow me to say that the one vote for Joseph E. McDonald is cast by me—Mann, of Illinois.

When Indiana was reached Mr. Menzies said:

"Mr. Chairman, by unanimous direction of the Delegation of Indiana, I cast thirty votes for Thomas A. Hendricks."

The vote of Iowa was: Cleveland 22, Hendricks 4.

MR. COX, of Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania asks permission to retire for consultation.

GEORGE SMITH, Jr., of Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania has had her second ballot, and until that is announced nothing else is in order. The motion is out of order until this ballot has been taken.

MR. MCGOWAN, of Pennsylvania: The Delegation has a right to be taken out whenever fifteen demand it, and I have given that number to the Chairman.

MR. CAMPBELL: We desire to retire.

MR. SMITH: Pennsylvania has already cast 37 votes for Grover Cleveland.

THE CHAIR: The Chair will say that the Chairman of the Delegation of Pennsylvania asks on behalf of the Delegation leave to retire. The Chair understands that they have the right legally to do that when asked for by the Chairman of the Delegation. Is there consent to that? [Cries of "Yes!" "Yes!"] Pennsylvania will retire and the roll-call will proceed in the meantime. The gentlemen will please take their seats and the call of the vote will proceed.

The Clerk proceeded with the call until Kentucky was reached, when Gen. James A. McKenzie, speaking for his Delegation, said:

"Mr. Chairman, at his own request I withdraw the name of John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, and I desire to cast the vote of that State between the remaining candidates as follows: For Thurman, 1 vote; for Cleveland, 3 votes; for Bayard, 7 votes; for Hendricks, 15 votes."

The roll-call was proceeded with, and when New Jersey was reached, Governor Abbett, the Chairman of that Delegation, in announcing the vote, said:

"Mr. Chairman, New Jersey casts two for Bayard, five for Cleveland, and eleven for one of the men who were robbed in 1876."

Mr. Daniel Manning, of New York, announced the vote of that State as follows:

"Mr. President, 72 votes for Cleveland. And Mr. President, I wish to state that in polling the Delegation the vote stood 50 for Cleveland, 22 for Mr. Hendricks."

MR. SILAS N. GALLUP, of Niagara, N. Y.: Mr. Chairman, I ask in the name of the disfranchised minority of the New York Delegation that the vote shall be announced by the Secretary as announced by the Chairman. I ask that the vote of the New York Delegation be announced in the language of the Chairman of our Delegation in stating the vote of our Delegation upon the question stating how the minority voted. I want the Secretary to announce it.

THE CHAIR: The statement of the vote of the minority as announced by the Chairman of the New York Delegation is entered in the official minutes of the proceedings.

After the vote of North Carolina had been announced by the Chairman, Mr. J. C. Buxton, of that State said:

"I desire to state, sir, that in our Delegation there are sixteen votes for Bayard, and six votes for Grover Cleveland. But we agreed that upon this ballot the vote should be cast as a unit. It is, therefore, correctly given by the Chairman."

THE READING CLERK: North Carolina casts twenty-two votes for Thomas Francis Bayard.

When Pennsylvania was called the Delegation was still absent.

THE CHAIR: Pennsylvania will be passed.

Gen. Bragg, in announcing the vote of Wisconsin, said:

"Twenty votes for the candidate of the young Democrats, Grover Cleveland."

Just as the call was completed the Pennsylvania Delegation returned.

MR. E. B. COX, Chairman: Pennsylvania votes: Cleveland, 42; Hendricks, 11; Randall 4; Bayard, 2; Thurman, 1.

The ballot up to this point and before the changes were made, was as follows:

STATES.	TOTAL VOTE.	CLEVELAND.	BAYARD.	HENDRICKS.	THURMAN.	RANDALL.	MCDONALD.	TILDEN.
Alabama .....	20	5	14	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Arkansas .....	14	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California .....	16	.....	.....	.....	16	.....	.....	.....
Colorado .....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut .....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Delaware .....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida .....	8	6	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia .....	24	14	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois (1 absent) .....	44	38	3	1	.....	.....	1	.....
Indiana .....	30	.....	.....	30	.....	.....	.....	.....
Iowa .....	26	22	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas .....	18	12	4	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky .....	26	3	7	15	1	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana .....	16	15	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Maine .....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland .....	16	10	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts .....	28	8	7½	12½	.....	.....	.....	.....
Michigan .....	26	13	.....	13	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota .....	14	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi .....	18	2	14	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri .....	32	21	5	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nebraska .....	10	9	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada .....	6	.....	.....	5	1	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire .....	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey .....	18	5	2	11	.....	.....	.....	.....
New York .....	72	72	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina .....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio .....	46	21	.....	1	22	.....	.....	2
Oregon .....	6	2	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania .....	60	42	2	11	1	4	.....	.....
Rhode Island .....	8	6	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina .....	18	8	9	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee .....	24	2	10	1	11	.....	.....	.....
Texas .....	26	12	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....
Vermont .....	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Virginia .....	24	13	8	2	1	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia .....	12	6	3	.....	2	1	.....	.....
Wisconsin .....	22	20	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>Territories.</i>								
Arizona .....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota .....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia .....	2	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho .....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana .....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico .....	2	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Utah .....	2	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington .....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming .....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals .....	820	475	151½	123½	60	5	2	2

GOV. PALMER, of Illinois : I desire to correct a mistake in the calling of the vote of Illinois. [The vote had been originally announced as : Cleveland 38, Bayard 3, McDonald 1, Hendricks 1.]

THE READING CLERK : Illinois.

MR. PALMER : Cleveland 37, McDonald 5, Bayard 3, Hendricks 1.

THE CHAIR : The vote of Illinois will be so corrected.

MR. G. W. GLICK, of Kansas : I desire to correct the vote of Kansas to Bayard 3, Cleveland 13, Thurman 2.

The vote had been originally announced as Cleveland 12, Bayard 4, Thurman 2.

MR. W. T. DORTCH, of North Carolina : I desire to change the vote of North Carolina.

THE CHAIR : The gentleman from North Carolina desires to change its vote.

MR. DORTCH : We change the twenty-two votes of North Carolina from Bayard to Cleveland.

MR. C. T. BEALL, of Virginia : Virginia desires to change its vote.

THE CHAIR : The gentleman from Virginia has the floor. Georgia next.

MR. BEALL : As Chairman of the Delegation, Mr. President, I am directed by that Delegation to change her vote so as to make it read 22 votes for Cleveland, 1 vote for Hendricks.

THE CHAIR : The gentleman from Georgia has the floor.

MR. A. O. BOLEN, from Georgia : Georgia changes her vote to 22 for Cleveland, 2 for Bayard.

THE CHAIR : The gentleman from Florida is recognized.

MR. C. E. DYKE, of Florida : Florida changes her vote to 8 for Cleveland.

MR. LEWIS BAKER, Chairman of the Delegation : West Virginia desires to cast 10 votes for Cleveland and 2 for Bayard.

The Chairman of the Maryland Delegation rose at



the same time, while calls of "Texas" were made all along the line of that Delegation.

The Chairman recognized John L. Carroll, from Maryland, who cast the sixteen votes of that State for Cleveland.

THE CHAIR : The gentleman from Texas has the floor.

MR. GAMMAGE : Texas desires to change her vote—Cleveland, 14 ; Bayard, 10 ; Thurman, 1 ; Hendricks, 1.

The uproar by which the proceedings of the Convention had more or less been characterized all the morning reached its wildest height when the announcement was made that Missouri changed her vote, and the Chairman of her Delegation cast the thirty-two votes of that State for Cleveland. This practically gave him the nomination.

Immediately all the aisles were filled by Delegates, marching around with the standards and banners of their respective Delegations. Mr. E. D. Zeigler took the standard of Pennsylvania up to the platform, announcing that he did so as a tribute to the reform Governor of New York. A still more interesting tribute was a splendid floral anchor, surmounted by an eagle, presented by James Oliver, of the New York Delegation, and having the name of Cleveland on the base, which was carried up and placed upon the Chairman's table.

At 12.42 the first gun was fired on the Lake Front, by which the outside world was made aware, although the roll-call had not been completed, that the choice of the Democracy for the next President was Grover Cleveland, of New York ; for a single instant there was a hush : then as the meaning of the salute was understood, the demonstrations were renewed.

MR. SPENCER, of California : California desires to change her vote—8 for Cleveland, 8 for Tilden.

MR. TARPEY, of California : I desire to have my individual vote recorded.

MR. SPENCER : The vote is : 8 for Cleveland, 8 for Thurman.

MR. MENZIES, of Indiana : I am instructed to change the vote of the State of Indiana to thirty for Cleveland, and also on behalf and at the request of Gov. Hendricks to move that the nomination of Grover Cleveland be made unanimous.

MR. BRECKINRIDGE, of California : California desires to second the motion of the gentleman from Indiana that the nomination be made unanimous on behalf of the friends of Mr. Thurman.

THE CHAIR : The nomination has not yet been made. The roll will be called, and the votes counted, and then the motion will be put.

MR. DELANEY, of Wisconsin : Wisconsin changes her vote to 22 for Cleveland.

MR. S. P. SHOPE, of Illinois : Illinois desires to change her vote. I am directed to cast 44 votes for Grover Cleveland.

MR. MANN, of Illinois : I challenge the vote of Illinois. It is 1 for McDonald. I am still for McDonald. I want that entered on the record.

MR. TARPEY, of California : California desires to change her vote.

The vote of Kansas was announced as 17 for Cleveland, and 1 for Bayard.

GEN. A. J. WARNER, of Ohio: I rise to a point of order. Mr. Cleveland having been nominated by acclamation, I make the point of order that that has carried all the votes for Cleveland, and no special changes are longer in order.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman's point of order is not well taken, because it is not founded on fact. The Chair will declare any motion of that kind out of order when the vote has been simply taken but not announced. The announcement of the vote as actually cast shall be made, and then the motion of the gentleman from Indiana to make it unanimous will be put.

GEN. WARNER: I understood that that had been carried. I withdraw the point of order.

THE CHAIR: California desires, I understand, to make her vote unanimous for Cleveland.

THE CLERK: California changes her vote to Cleveland.

The Chairman recognized Gen. Wade Hampton, of South Carolina, who said:

"South Carolina makes the following change in her vote: Cleveland 10, Bayard 8."

Texas changed to 26 votes for Cleveland.

Ohio asked to change to Cleveland 27, Thurman 14.

Gen. Ward challenged the correctness of the announcement.

THE CHAIR: The vote will not be changed. The vote will stand as it was.

MR. SPENCER, of California: Mr. Chairman, Gen. Ward, of the Ohio Delegation, challenges that vote, and he has been desirous of voting for Cleveland for the last half hour.

THE CHAIR: Gen. Ward challenges the change and the change will not be allowed. In order that there may be no mistake in the vote the Clerk will call it as it has been taken.

Tennessee changed her entire vote to Cleveland.

Iowa changed her entire vote for Cleveland.

At this point a colossal painting of Grover Cleveland was taken upon the stage.

THE CHAIR : The Clerk will now call over the roll of States with the votes as they have been given that they may be correctly recorded.

When the Clerk called Illinois Mr. Mann said :

"Mr. Chairman, 43 for Cleveland, 1 for McDonald."

THE CHAIR : So enter it; 43 for Cleveland, 1 for McDonald.

Rhode Island changed to 1 for Bayard and 7 for Cleveland.

The District of Columbia voted Cleveland 2.

New Mexico changed to Cleveland 2.

THE CHAIR: Gentlemen, the vote as finally to be recorded on the call of the States, will be announced. Then the Chair will put the motion of the gentleman from Indiana, seconded by the gentleman from California, and seconded also by Missouri, to make the nomination unanimous. Listen to the announcement of the vote.

#### THE RESULT.

The Clerk announced the result as follows :

Whole number of votes cast.....	820
Necessary to a choice.....	547
McDonald.....	2
Randall.....	4
Thurman.....	4
Hendricks.....	45½
Bayard.....	81½
Cleveland.....	683

The ballot in detail, with the changes as finally made, was as follows :

STATES.	TOTAL VOTE.	CLEVELAND.	BAYARD.	HENDRICKS.	THURMAN.	RANDALL.	McDONALD.
Alabama.....	20	5	14	.....	.....	.....	I
Arkansas.....	14	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	16	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	24	22	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	44	43	.....	.....	.....	.....	I
Indiana.....	30	30	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Iowa.....	26	26	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	18	17	I	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	26	4	2I	.....	I	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	15	.....	.....	I	.....	.....
Maine.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	28	8	7½	12½	.....	.....	.....
Michigan.....	26	23	.....	3	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	14	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	18	2	14	2	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	32	32	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	10	9	I	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	.....	5	I	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	5	2	II	.....	.....	.....
New York.....	72	72	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	22	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	46	46	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	60	42	2	II	I	4	.....
Rhode Island.....	8	7	I	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	18	10	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	24	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	26	26	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Vermont.....	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	24	23	.....	I	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	12	10	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	22	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>Territories.</i>							
Arizona.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	820	683	81½	45½	4	4	2



THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Indiana has moved to make the nomination unanimous. It is seconded by the gentleman from California and the gentleman from Missouri. The question is on the adoption of the motion.

The motion was unanimously adopted.

The applause broke out afresh at this announcement. The floral piece already referred to and the painting of Cleveland were placed on the President's table and greeted with renewed cheers.

MR. LARUE, of California: I move we take a recess until seven o'clock.

THE CHAIR: The vote has not been announced. The motion of the gentleman from Indiana seconded by the gentleman from California and the gentleman from Missouri, to make the nomination of Grover Cleveland unanimous was unanimously carried, and he is declared the nominee of the National Democracy for the next President of the United States.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

HON. W. A. WALLACE: Mr. President, in view of the necessity for deliberation in completing the National ticket I move that this Convention do now take a recess until five o'clock to-day.

MR. SPARKS, of Illinois: I move to amend by inserting four o'clock.

This amendment was withdrawn.

THE CHAIR: The motion is by the gentleman from Pennsylvania that the Convention take a recess until five o'clock. The gentleman from New York seconds the motion. One moment. Pending that a dispatch is to be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

COLUMBUS, O., July 11.

*To the Hon. W. F. Vilas,*

*President of the National Democratic Convention:*

I congratulate the Convention, the Democracy, and the country upon the wise work this day done. Ohio is our first battle-ground. We are now firing 100 guns over the nomination, and promise to salute you with the cheers of victories in October and November.

GEORGE HOADLY.

The dispatch was received with tumultuous cheers and applause.

THE CHAIR: The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

The motion of Senator Wallace, of Pennsylvania, to adjourn until 5 o'clock was carried, and at 1.25 P. M. the Convention took a recess until 5 o'clock P. M.

## FOURTH DAY.

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### EVENING SESSION.

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The Chairman called the Convention to order at 5.30 P. M., as follows :

The Convention will be in order.

MR. A. E. STEVENSON, of Illinois: Mr. President, I ask the immediate consideration and adoption of the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read the resolution, which was as follows :

*"Resolved,* That the Hon. William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, Chairman of the National Democratic Convention, be and is hereby elected Chairman of the Committee to notify the nominees of the Convention of their selection as the candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States."

GEN. WICKLIFFE, of Louisiana: Mr. President, I wish to state to this Convention that from almost immemorial time, sir, that Committee have elected their own Chairman. It is certainly improper to pass that resolution.

MR. STEVENSON: I am unable to hear the remarks of the gentleman from Louisiana.

THE CHAIR: I ask the gentleman from Illinois to withdraw the resolution.

MR. STEVENSON: I was unable to hear the remarks of the gentleman from Louisiana.

GEN. WICKLIFFE: My remarks were, that from time immemorial it has been the custom of that Committee to elect their own Chairman.

MR. STEVENSON: I think it has been the custom, with all due deference to the gentleman from Louisiana, for the Convention to select the presiding officer.

Mr. Stevenson put the question and promptly declared the motion carried, as also did the Reading Clerk.

THE CHAIR : The Clerk will read this dispatch which has been received since the adjournment.

The Reading Clerk read the telegram as follows :

NEW YORK, July 11.

*The Hon. William F. Vilas,*

*Chairman of the Democratic Convention :*

Both Democrats and Republicans on the Produce Exchange just joined in three rousing cheers for Cleveland. New York business men are solid for him.

F. S. WILLIAMS.

THE CHAIR : The Clerk will also make the announcement desired by the Chairman of the National Committee.

THE READING CLERK : There will a meeting of the newly appointed National Committee this evening at Room 27, Palmer House, immediately after the adjournment of the Convention. The members of the last Committee are requested to be present.

The Clerk also said :

In order to secure an organization of the Committee without delay, the Committee on Notification of Candidates is requested to meet immediately after the Convention adjourns in the Connecticut headquarters at the Palmer House.

MR. BURKE, of Louisiana : I have a resolution which I desire to offer.

The Secretary read the resolution as follows :

*"Resolved, That in case of a vacancy on the ticket for the office of President or Vice-President a majority of the National Democratic Committee shall have power to fill the vacancy."*

THE CHAIR : The question is upon the resolution of the gentleman from Louisiana. The resolution will be read again.

The Secretary then read the resolution again.

MR. FLANAGAN, of Ohio : I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion was seconded by a Delegate from Missouri.

THE CHAIR : The gentleman from Ohio moves to lay the resolution on the table. The motion is seconded. The question is on the motion to lay the resolution on the table.

The Chair then proceeded to put the motion to the Convention.

THE CHAIR : The Chair is in doubt as to the result.

MR. BURKE : I have no desire to detain this Convention, and, with the permission of my second, I will withdraw the motion.

THE CHAIR : The gentleman from Louisiana asks permission to withdraw the resolution. The Chair hears no objection to its being withdrawn, and it is withdrawn accordingly.

COL. E. J. SIMPKINS, of Texas ; I have a resolution to offer.

THE CHAIR : The Secretary will read the resolution of the gentlemen from Texas.

The Secretary read as follows :

*“ Resolved*, first, That the Democratic party, in Convention assembled, do hereby heartily indorse the Morrison bill for the reduction of the war taxes as a right step in the direction of tariff reform.

*“ Resolved*, second, That in our judgment the opposition to the bill by eminent and honorable members of our party was based upon considerations of policy and not of principle.”

MR. BUDD, of California : I move to lay that on the table, and ask for a call of the States.

THE CHAIR : The resolution is not within the power of the house, but must go to the Committee on Resolutions.

MR. H. RUBENS, of Illinois : I move that the Convention now proceed to take a ballot of the Democracy for the honorable office of Vice-President of the United States.

A Kentucky Delegate seconded the motion.

THE CHAIR : It is moved and seconded that the Convention do now proceed to ballot to nominate a candidate for Vice-President.

MR. RUBENS : And that the roll of States be called.

THE CHAIR : And that the roll of States be called for that pur-



pose. Will the gentleman allow the resolution sent up by Mr. Porter, of Oregon, on that subject to be first read?

MR. RUBENS : Yes.

The resolution was read by the Reading Clerk, as follows :

*"Resolved, That in nominating a candidate for Vice-President speeches shall be limited to ten minutes each, and that no nomination shall have more than one second."*

MR. P. J. CARMODY, of Missouri: I move to amend the resolution by making it five minutes.

MR. T. L. PORTER, of Oregon : I accept the amendment.

THE CHAIR : The gentleman, Mr. Porter of Oregon, accepts the amendment. The question is on the adoption of the motion of Mr. Porter of Oregon as amended.

The motion as amended was agreed to.

THE CHAIR : The question is now upon the motion of the gentleman from Illinois, that the Convention proceed to nominate a candidate for Vice-President, and that the roll be called for that purpose.

This motion was adopted.

THE CHAIR : Now, let the Chair say that after Alabama is called the Clerk will wait a space of five minutes or so. The roll will be called.

Alabama and Arkansas having been called without response, Mr. Breckinridge of California, when that State was called, said :

California has a candidate to present. The presentation will be made by the Hon. Niles Searls of our Delegation.

The Chairman introduced the gentleman as the Hon. Niles Searls, of California.

ADDRESS OF HON. NILES SEARLES, OF CALIFORNIA.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION : California is a loving mother to her children, and they in turn are devoted in their attachment to California. We of the Pacific Coast have listened with admiration to the recounting of the noble qualities of the

several eminent gentlemen who have been presented for your votes and now on her behalf, and as a representative of the Delegation from the golden coast, I desire to present for your suffrages a man who has been eminent among his fellow-men; a man who in the councils of the Nation has been preëminent; a man who has led your soldiers to battle; a man who has achieved distinction, who has assisted in upholding the banner of his country. I claim not, as has been frequently done here for the candidate whom I shall present, that he has or possesses genius. Genius pays large dividends, but they are not of sufficiently frequent occurrence to make them safe as a permanent investment.

The gentleman whom I shall have the honor of naming possesses that rare common sense, that talent which has rendered him conspicuous among the military men of the Nation and among the civilians. As a member of Congress he has been at the head of your Committee on Military Affairs. As a soldier he has led the veterans of the land to victory. Yes, gentlemen, he acquired great victories, and I am honest enough to confess that he has sustained defeats; and no man who has never been defeated knows just how to acquire victory. The honored name which I desire to present to you is that of Gen. William S. Rosecrans, the hero of Stone River, the faithful soldier, the grand old commander whose image is impressed upon the hearts of all men who served under him. I present him to you as a gallant soldier, and if you make him your choice the echoes will awaken to the cries and huzzas that will come up in rejoicing over his nomination.

When Colorado was called Gov. James B. Grant arose and said:

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the State of Colorado I desire to present to this Convention the name of the Hon. Joseph E. McDonald, of Indiana, as a candidate for Vice-President. His merits are so well known that I feel that he doesn't even need a five-minute speech to induce this Convention to vote for him, and therefore we make no speech in his behalf.

THE CHAIR: Gov. Grant, of Colorado, presents the name of the Hon. Joseph E. McDonald, of Indiana.

Mr. Bacon arose in his seat when Georgia was called.

THE CHAIR: Will the gentleman take the stand?

## ADDRESS OF HON. A. O. BACON, OF GEORGIA.

I have but a few words to say, Mr. President. It is unnecessary that I consume the time which would be necessary in walking to the stand. I know, Mr. President, that this Convention is wearied with its long session and with much speaking, and, even if it were not for the order of the Convention, I should not consume the time which is prescribed by the resolution which has been adopted. We of the South, Mr. President, have come to this Convention with our preferences for those who shall fill the first and second places upon this ticket, in which we have been as ardent as you, gentlemen of the North. But we have contented ourselves by giving expression to our preferences by our votes, and we have been silent amid the discussions which have been heard in this hall for the last four days. As we have had our preferences for the first place so have we a preference for the second. But as in the first place we passed by all those who live within our borders and gave our votes to those who live in the North, so do we now come to present the name of one who lives on this side of the border.

Mr. President, it is difficult for those of us who live in the South to express to Northern Democrats the appreciation we have had for their assistance in the long struggle which we have made for personal liberty and for local self-government. We have been told at the South that the respectability of the North belonged to the Republican party. But as one who had the fortune to witness in this hall the assembly of the Republican Convention, I am glad to bear testimony to the fact that the men of the North who have come up here as the representatives of the Democratic party are in every particular the superiors of those who were in attendance upon the Republican Convention.

But, Mr. President, I cannot dwell upon that. While we have this appreciation of the men of the North—I speak the sentiment which is common to all of us who live in the South—among the Democrats of the North, those who stand highest in our regards—those whose aid we have appreciated in the highest degree—are those who wore the blue, and who, when the banners were furled, and when the echoes of the guns were stilled, recognized that those who had been enemies were now friends and brothers. Mr. President, I desire to say that the gentleman whose name I shall present to this Convention, and whom I am commissioned by the Delegates from my State to ask that you shall choose for the second place on

the ticket—a gentleman who is personally a stranger to us all. I desire to say further that I have the best of reasons for knowing that, while he sits within the sound of my voice, that while his friends surround him, that neither he nor his friends have now the slightest idea whose name I shall pronounce.

Mr. President : I am commissioned by the Delegation from the State of Georgia to present the name of a man who has been eminent in war, and who is no less eminent and worthy in peace. He, Mr. President, belongs not to the past. Those of us who belong to the present generation are looking to the future. We wish that the dead past with its bitter memories shall be forgotten and that our faces may be set towards the morning. As an ex-Confederate soldier, representing those who stood upon that side in the struggle which, I am glad to say, has receded so far in the past, and which, except in its glories, I hope may be forgotten—in behalf of a State that comes here proposing to give everything and to ask nothing—in behalf of a State which recognizes in the whole galaxy of States but one rival in the grand majority which we propose to give to the nominees of this Convention, I have the honor to nominate for the position of Vice-President the eminent citizen, the distinguished orator, the gallant soldier, Gen. John C. Black of Illinois.

General Black stood up in his chair and said :

MR. CHAIRMAN: I fully appreciate the splendid words of the gentleman from Georgia. He has, indeed, conferred upon me an unmerited compliment, which was almost an absolute surprise; but, sir, when I entered this hall I came as the spokesman and representatives of another citizen of the Republic. I put my hand in the hand of Joseph E. McDonald, and while his name is before this Convention I cannot appear as in any sense to rival him for any position, and therefore I respectfully decline.

The Clerk then called for nominations for Vice-President by the State of Illinois, whereupon Mr. J. B. Mann forced his way through the crowd in the aisles to the press platform, and spoke as follows :

ADDRESS OF HON. JOSEPH B. MANN, OF ILLINOIS.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I realize to the fullest extent the peculiar position in which my friend from Illinois is placed. He, like me, has

come here with no double tongue; he, like me, has come here to represent, in behalf of the Democracy of Illinois, one of the grandest statesmen and the noblest men whom we have ever been called upon to present to a Convention; and, while that is true, I feel that I would not be doing justice to this great man from Illinois, to the gallant soldier who bears upon his person the evidences of his devotion to the service of his country, if I allowed Illinois to be passed in the call of States without declaring that the declination which he has made shall not be received by this Convention. I know the gentleman from Illinois. Nobody knows him better. I have stood by him while I have seen the surgeon operating upon his arm, taking out the elbow joint, and yet he declaring, while that was being done, that, notwithstanding he lost a joint, his whole body yet was firm and true for the Union and firm and true for the Democracy. I know my friend from Illinois.

MR. O. W. POWERS, of Michigan: Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order. The gentleman is out of order. Under the rules, we are now calling the roll of States for nominations.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman is from Illinois, and Illinois was called.

MR. MANN: If there is anybody here who does not appreciate the fact that I am from Illinois, allow me to introduce myself. Illinois has been called in the roll of States, and I arise here in behalf of the sterling, honest Democracy of Illinois to present the name to this Convention of the most gallant son, without exception, which Illinois possesses to-day, General John Charles Black. [Cries of "Time!"] No, there is no time. No question can be out of time when we present to a Democratic Convention the name of a soldier honored and honorable as the name of Gen. Black is in the State of Illinois. I speak to you, gentlemen, you Delegates of the Convention, in the belief that you will honor yourselves, you will honor your ticket, you will make it successful, when you incorporate his name as a constituent part of it.

The call of the roll then proceeded. When the State of Indiana was reached, Mr. Menzies, of that State, claimed the attention of the Chair.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Indiana, Mr. Menzies.

MR. MENZIES: I am authorized by the Delegation from the State



of Indiana to say to the Convention that it has no candidate for the Vice-Presidency, neither will it present any.

The call of the roll then proceeded. When the State of Kansas was reached, Mr. Fenlon, of that State, addressed the Chair.

THE CHAIR: The Hon. Thomas P. Fenlon, from Kansas.

ADDRESS OF HON. THOMAS P. FENLON, OF KANSAS.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I crave the charity of your silence for a moment. I have only four minutes to speak, and I cannot speak loud, as I am hoarse from shouting for Grover Cleveland, of New York. I suppose it is not necessary for me to say that the State I have the honor in part to represent is somewhat known to history and fame, known since the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill all over the civilized world, and in parts of New Jersey. We have been noted as "bleeding Kansas." We have been noted as "grasshopper Kansas." We have suffered for twenty-five long years under the deepest and darkest gloom of political perdition until two years ago, when the first gleam of light penetrated the dark cloud that had overshadowed our country.

Let me speak a moment of Kansas. She is not without an honorable history. Under the lead of Douglas, of Illinois, we fought twenty-seven years ago for personal liberty. We are fighting for it now. In the war, to which I do not desire to refer in any unkind spirit, Kansas has the proud honor, according to statistics, of having more live men in the field and leaving more dead men upon it than any other State within the Union. And the proudest boast of the Kansas soldiers to-day is that they met foemen worthy of their steel.

Two years ago, drunk with political power long continued, the Republican party nominated for Governor of the State for the third time a saint from heaven. A man surnamed St. John—not he who made the pathway of the Lord open and clear, but St. John, the apostle of prohibition. Forty-five thousand Republican majority was behind them. We nominated the present Executive of our State, and, appealing to the sense, to the decency, to the judgment, to the manhood, to the Democracy of our people, in the person of our Chief Executive, that majority melted away like snow before

the Summer sun, and we elected him by 10,000 majority. In the name, then, Mr. Chairman, of a regenerated and a disenthralled State—may I not say in the name of 500,000 German Republicans of the Northwest—I am instructed to present for the consideration of this Convention the name of his Excellency, George W. Glick, the present Governor of Kansas.

THE CHAIR: The Chair asks common consent to the reading of a dispatch which has just been received, and which may be interesting.

The Reading Clerk read as follows :

COUNCIL BLUFFS, Ia., July 11.

*Chairman of the National Democratic Convention :*

The nomination of Governor Cleveland for President has been received here with the wildest enthusiasm by thousands of Democrats. And hundreds of Republicans are equally captivated with it. A big Ratification Meeting will be held to-night. The Germans are particularly enthusiastic. A Cleveland banner has been thrown across Broadway to show that Council Bluffs intends to do her part towards carrying Iowa for the Democracy.

JOHN H. KEATLEY and THOMAS BOWMAN.

The Clerk proceeded with the call until Missouri was reached.

MR. WILLIAM H. PHELPS, of Missouri: Is it in order to second a nomination at this time?

THE CHAIR: Yes.

MR. PHELPS: I am instructed by the solid Delegation from Missouri to second the nomination of Joseph E. McDonald.

Gen. W. C. Faulkner, of Mississippi, when his State was called, came to the platform and spoke as follows :

ADDRESS OF GEN. W. C. FAULKNER, OF MISSISSIPPI.

Ever since Richard the Lion-Hearted led the Crusaders into the Holy Land it has been the universal custom for brave soldiers to meet on terms of friendship after the battle is over. Even the common school boys love each other better when they have fought

each other hard. I, as an humble citizen of Mississippi, one who occupied a position on the losing side in the late War, beg in a very few and brief remarks to express my admiration for the distinguished Federal General, Rosecrans. That I know him to be a brave soldier is not hearsay evidence; for, in a humble way, I have met him on many a field. And I know that I shall speak the sentiments of all brave soldiers on both 'sides of the late War when I say that there is no gentleman whose name has been presented to this Convention that can come so completely near uniting all the old brave soldiers that fought on each side of the late War. I shall not occupy the time of this Convention. But I did deem it necessary to say this much, because occasionally you will find an old politician—a "rale old stern-wheel" politician—who tries to gnaw a little meat off the old bone of contention; but all brave soldiers are ready to meet each other on terms of friendship. This late War was a family quarrel, and the family have settled it, and woe be to the outside nations that shall undertake to break up that settlement. I have shed a little blood in fighting against the old flag; I have shed a little blood fighting under the old flag; there is a little more blood in these veins ready to be poured out freely if any outside nation shall undertake to break up that settlement.

I say this much in favor of Gen. Rosecrans. And I can say it because I belonged to the losing side. Gen. Rosecrans' army headquarters were at my residence during the War, while I was out in the army fighting against him. And it is with pleasure that I can say to the people of this country that I believe he would unite this whole Nation so far as the soldier vote is concerned. I thank the Convention for its courtesy.

After the State of Oregon was called Mr. L. L. McArthur, of that State, said:

"I desire to ask a question for information. Was the resolution, limiting the number of seconds to a nomination, passed?"

THE CHAIR: Yes, sir.

MR. MCARTHUR: I rise then simply to express the united voice of Oregon in favor of Rosecrans.

THE SECRETARY: State of Pennsylvania.

SENATOR WALLACE, of Pennsylvania: I rise in my place again on the floor of this Convention not to place in nomination a Pennsylvanian by birth, but, sir, to place in nomination for the second office

in the gift of the American people a gentleman springing from grand old Pennsylvania stock in the western portion of that noble old Commonwealth. In the star of the West, old Westmoreland, he found the root of the lineage that gave him birth. This gentleman is conversant with public affairs throughout his entire life; he has known government and its details; an honored statesman; a pure and upright citizen; a representative of the grossest wrong that ever was perpetrated upon the American people. I nominate as the candidate for Vice-President of the United States Thomas A. Hendricks, once already your Vice-President.

GOV. WALLER, of Connecticut: Mr. Chairman——

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Connecticut.

GOV. WALLER: The Delegation from Connecticut desires me to ask the privilege of the Convention to second the nomination. The Delegation from Connecticut seconds the nomination of Thomas A. Hendricks, with the belief and hope, Mr. Chairman, that the Democratic party of this country will have wit enough, and power enough, in defiance of fraud, and in accordance with law, to place him in the chair of the Vice-Presidency.

MR. MENZIES, of Indiana: Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Indiana was recognized when the gentleman from Connecticut took his seat.

MR. MENZIES: Let the Convention be not mistaken. I speak in words of seriousness and earnestness. Thomas A. Hendricks is not and will not be a candidate for the Vice-Presidency. I am, sir, authorized by him to say further, as the Chairman of this Delegation, that he will not be a candidate for the office of Vice-President. I say, then, sir, let not this Convention do that which it may have to meet and do again.

MR. PATRICK WALSH, of Georgia: I would ask the gentleman from Indiana if he is authorized to say that Mr. Hendricks will not accept a unanimous nomination from the National Democratic Convention for the office of Vice-President of the United States.

MR. MENZIES: I will answer that gentleman on my left (Mr. Walsh, of Georgia,) by saying, in the language of Mr. Hendricks himself, that he is not and will not be a candidate for the Vice-Presidency.

## ADDRESS OF HON. T. M. WALLER, OF CONNECTICUT.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Connecticut surely has no desire to force on Indiana a candidate against its will. But, sir, this is not an Indiana Convention. This is a Convention of the country; and the Democrats, looking all over the country, have a right to take a fit man from any place in it. Connecticut, sir, would not have made at anybody's request a nomination of a man for any office, unless they had exercised a little Yankee cuteness as to whether the man would probably take it. If any man in this Convention says that he knows that Mr. Hendricks at this time is not patriotic enough to take the nomination tendered under these circumstances, I will withdraw his name with humiliation. He does not want this nomination; every man knows it. In 1876, sir, the statesman of New York represented the East and the statesman of Indiana represented the West on the Presidential ticket. In 1884, but for infirmity of health, not of purpose, the candidate of New York in 1876 would undoubtedly have been your candidate again. His name cannot be placed, and could not have been placed, upon your ticket; but Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, thank God, is in good health. He again can serve the people if called to the front, and the ticket, with the statesman of New York upon it in 1884 representing the East, and Thomas A. Hendricks representing again the West, will be, in the opinion and belief of every Democrat who hears me, victorious in November.

MR. WALLACE, of Pennsylvania: It would be beneath the dignity of an elected Vice-President of the United States to be a candidate for the place a second time. Thomas A. Hendricks has been once chosen the Vice-President of the United States. He has been despoiled of his office. The Democracy of the Republic demand of him again his name as their candidate, and they will not take "No" for an answer. Sir, I move you that the rules be suspended and that this Convention nominate Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana as its candidate for Vice-President of the United States by acclamation.

THE CHAIR: The gentlemen will take their seats. Let us have order. The gentleman from Alabama is recognized. Let us have order before he proceeds.

MR. E. W. PETTUS, of Alabama: Mr. President, honorable names have been presented here, and I demand in the name of my State that they shall be voted on according to the rules.

MR. J. T. HARRIS, of Virginia: My friend from Alabama asked to proceed according to the rules. The motion made by the gentleman



from Pennsylvania suspends the rules and Virginia unites her voice to that of the Keystone State of the country; and we sustain the motion to suspend the rules, which the Chairman knows is not debatable.

THE CHAIR : The Chair will state that, as he understands and is well advised, the rule of the House of Representatives requires a two-thirds vote to suspend the rules. It will be difficult to determine a two-thirds vote without a call of the States unless there be unanimous consent.

MR. N. SEARLES, of California : Mr. Chairman, I desire on behalf of the California Delegation to withdraw the name of Gen. William S. Rosecrans, and to second the nomination of the Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks.

MR. T. P. FENLON, of Kansas : Mr. Chairman, by direction of the Kansas Delegation, and in full accord with my ancient friend of Pennsylvania and my new one from California, I withdraw the name of George W. Glick of Kansas and second the nomination of Mr. Hendricks.

GOV. GRANT, of Colorado : Mr. Chairman, Colorado also wishes to withdraw the name of Joseph E. McDonald and second the nomination of Mr. Hendricks.

ADDRESS OF HON. R. B. HUBBARD, OF TEXAS.

MR. CHAIRMAN : In behalf of the Delegation of the State of Texas I desire to second the nomination of Thomas A. Hendricks. When the gallant name of McDonald was presented, they had no idea that the name of Hendricks would be allowed, but, thank God, it is here. Sir, his name——

The calls to the speaker to take the platform drowned his voice. Not understanding what was wanted, he asked :

Am I in order, Mr. Chairman?

THE CHAIR : Yes, sir.

GOV. HUBBARD (continuing) : His name will be a thrill of enthusiasm from the mountains to the sea, and from the East to the West. It will unite the discordant elements that have been fighting us——

The gentleman finally yielded to the demand that he take the platform, and concluded his speech there.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION : I shall not detain you five minutes of time up here. In seconding the nomination which has just been made by the Old Keystone State, my State instructs me to say that all around, since that terrible Electoral-Commission robbery, Texas has been for wiping out with the ballot again the foul enormity. And when she cannot get the head of that great ticket, she wants to take all of it that is not incapacitated by physical infirmity back to that which is his own, the Vice-Presidency. Give us a living embodiment of the issue of that great crime.

In the second place, it will unite those elements of hostility that did crop out against the nomination of the gallant head of that ticket whom we have all unanimously nominated this great day.

In the third place, he will carry Indiana, that we need, with a majority such as he carried it once before, in 1876. We have nothing more to say. For God's sake give it to him. He deserves it. With one unanimous voice that shall ring out from the plains to the mountains and from sea to sea Texas seconds the nomination and moves it to be by acclamation.

MR. BACON, of Georgia : Mr. President, I ask the privilege of yielding the floor a moment to Mr. Winston, of Illinois, so that I am recognized when he shall have yielded the floor.

MR. F. S. WINSTON, of Illinois : Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Convention, the State of Illinois profoundly appreciates the compliment bestowed upon it in nominating its distinguished citizen to the office of Vice-President of the United States, and in view of the good of the Democratic party all over the country desires to withdraw the name of Gen. John C. Black.

MR. BACON, of Georgia : Mr. President and gentlemen, I desire to say that the nomination of Gen. Black was made by me in behalf of this Delegation in the utmost sincerity, and with the intention of pressing his name in the vote ; in spite of his declination we had intended to do so. In view, however, of his repeated requests that his name should be withdrawn, and in view of what seems to be the spontaneous outburst of this vast Convention at the name of Thomas A. Hendricks, I yield to the solicitations of the gentlemen of this Delegation and withdraw his name.

MR. SMITH M. WEED, of New York : Mr. President, while I be-

lieve that every member in this body is in favor of the nomination of Thomas A. Hendricks, I ask that the roll may be called so that a record may be made, and that he may not be nominated with a hurrah, but that every man in this Convention cast his vote for that statesman of Indiana.

SENATOR WALLACE, of Pennsylvania : Mr. Chairman, in view of the objection to my motion from the gentleman from New York, I rise to withdraw my motion that the nomination of Mr. Hendricks be made by acclamation, and move that the nominations be now closed and that the roll be called.

THE CHAIR : Strictly speaking, perhaps, that motion would be out of order. By unanimous direction of the Convention the roll will be called. Unless there be objection the Chair will take it as the unanimous direction of the Convention.

The Clerk then commenced the call of the roll of States on the motion of Senator Wallace.

When Indiana was reached Mr. Menzies addressed the Chair.

THE CHAIR: The gentleman from Indiana.

MR. MENZIES: Mr. Chairman, the State of Indiana asks to be passed, as under the present circumstances it is not authorized to vote.

THE CHAIR: Indiana is passed.

The call proceeded.

At the end of the roll a Delegate asked the Clerk to call Indiana again. When that State was called Mr. Menzies arose and said :

MR. MENZIES: The State of Indiana asks to be excused.

THE CHAIR: Indiana is excused unless the Chair hears objection.

MR. WALTHALL, of Mississippi: The one vote cast for McDonald in Mississippi was cast by mistake, sir. The gentleman desires to change it.

MR. HARRINGTON, of Missouri: I move the State of Indiana be excused.

MR. MENZIES: I rise to an inquiry. Is Mr. McDonald's name before the Convention as a candidate for Vice-President?

THE CHAIR: His name is withdrawn and the State of Mississippi now asks leave to change her vote. Her entire eighteen votes are given for Hendricks.

MR. MENZIES: I understand, then, sir, there is but one name before the Convention.

THE CHAIR: That is all.

MR. MENZIES: Then the State of Indiana casts her thirty votes for Thomas A. Hendricks.

This, at 6.45 P. M, concluded the call of States, and then followed the scene of wild enthusiasm which is usual at the close of National political Conventions. The band struck up at first the "Star Spangled Banner," "Auld Lang Syne" was next played, and the members and galleries united in singing the words:

For auld land syne, my dear,  
For auld lang syne,  
We'll take a richt guid williewaught  
For the days o' auld lang syne.

THE CHAIR: Let us finish our work in order. It has been conducted up to the point of nomination with as much order as any Convention of this kind. Let us finish like men. The gentleman from Missouri, Gen. Mansur, has the floor.

GEN. MANSUR: What I am about to do may not meet with the approval of the Indiana Delegation; but I will say that, with the knowledge and as I believe with the assent of its Chairman, I move you, sir, that this Convention raise a Committee of one gentleman from each State and Territory herein represented, to call upon the distinguished candidate that we have this hour nominated for Vice-President and invite him to come before us.

GEN. BRAGG, of Wisconsin: I rise to a point of order. A Committee for the notification of candidates has already been provided for.

THE CHAIR: The point of order is well taken. The Chair was about to make the same point.

GEN. MANSUR : I will withdraw it, because there seems to be some opposition among our Indiana friends.

THE CHAIR : The motion is withdrawn, if there is no objection. The vote has not formally been announced.

MR. KINNEY, of Tennessee : I believe a Committee has already been appointed——

THE CHAIR : Will the gentleman wait until the formal announcement of the vote ?

MR. T. L. JONES, of Kentucky : Is there a motion before the House ?

THE CHAIR : There is not. But the announcement of the vote is in order. The announcement of the vote is : Total votes cast, 816, of which Thomas A. Hendricks has received every one (four were absent from Illinois) and is declared the unanimous nominee of this party for the Vice-Presidency of the United States.

The Chair has a request to make of the Convention. He was ordered to appoint a Committee to send certain resolutions to the last Democratic President and the last and next to be Democratic Vice-President. The Chair asks leave of the Convention, not having had time yet to consider that, to have the liberty to put the names in afterward. The Chair hearing no objection, leave is granted.\*

Mr. Smalley, of Vermont, offered the following resolution, which was read by the Secretary :

*“Resolved, That the National Committee are hereby empowered and directed to fix the time and place for holding the next National Convention, and that the basis of representation therein be the same as fixed by this Convention.”*

The resolution was adopted.

THE SECRETARY : The gentleman from New York, Mr. E. K. Apgar, offers the following resolution :

*“Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the Hon. Richard B. Hubbard of Texas, its Temporary Chairman, and to the Hon. William F. Vilas, its Permanent Chairman, for the skill and fairness which they have brought to the discharge of their*

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\* This Committee will be found at page 188, it having been forwarded to the official stenographer and inserted in its place.



duties and for the admirable conduct of the business of the Convention, so largely due to their efforts."

THE SECRETARY : The question is upon the adoption of the resolution——

A DELEGATE FROM KANSAS : I want to add an amendment.

THE SECRETARY : The gentleman from Kansas proposes an amendment.

THE DELEGATE FROM KANSAS : That the Secretary and Reading Clerk be included in the vote of compliment.

THE SECRETARY : Resolved, That the Secretary and Reading Clerk be included in the resolution.

MR. MCGILVRAY, of Colorado : Another amendment.

THE SECRETARY : What is the amendment ?

MR. MCGILVRAY : And other officers of the Convention.

THE SECRETARY ; And other officers of this Convention.

The amendment was then agreed to.

The resolution as amended was then adopted.

MR. JOHN D. HARRIS, of Virginia : I desire to offer this resolution.

THE SECRETARY ; Mr. John D. Harris, of Virginia, offers the following.

" *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be and they are hereby tendered to the reportorial corps and press of the country for their fair and accurate reports of the proceedings of this Convention."

This resolution was adopted.

THE CHAIR : Now the Chair asks to make the only motion he has had the opportunity to make. The Chair asks to make a special motion of thanks on his own behalf to the Sergeant-at-Arms, Richard J. Bright, of Indiana, for the magnificent aid he has given both to the Chairman and to this Convention in his services for it. All in favor of it join the Chair in saying aye. It is unanimously carried.

MR. KINNEY, of West Virginia : I move that the thanks of this Convention be extended to the Hon. Carter H. Harrison, of Chicago, and to his Chief of Police for the efficient aid they have given this Convention.

MR. WALSH, of Georgia : In behalf of the Delegates of the

National Democratic Convention I move that the thanks of the Delegates here assembled be returned to the citizens of Chicago for their generous hospitality to the National Convention.

“*Resolved*, That the thanks of the National Democratic Convention be also tendered to the citizens of Chicago for the hospitality which they have so generously extended to the members of the Convention, to the National Democratic Committee and others in attendance as well as for the perfection of the arrangements made by them for the convenience of the Convention.”

The resolution was adopted.

MR. P. W. MCKINNEY, of Virginia : I move that we do now adjourn.

THE CHAIR : It is moved that this Convention do now adjourn *sine die*.

The motion was adopted, and the Convention then adjourned *sine die*.

The following appendix contains the organization of the National Democratic Committee of 1884, and the report of the proceedings of the Committee on Notification, as furnished by Hon. Nicholas M. Bell, Secretary of that Committee, with the letters of acceptance of the candidates.



# APPENDIX.





# APPENDIX.

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## ORGANIZATION

— OF THE —

## NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

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PALMER HOUSE, CHICAGO, July 11, 1884, }  
8 o'clock P. M. }

The National Committee of 1884 met for the purpose of temporary organization at the Palmer House, Room 27, at 8 o'clock P. M.

The Committee was called to order by Hon. A. P. Gorman, of Maryland, and on his motion Hon. Wm. H. Barnum, of Connecticut, was elected Temporary Chairman of the Committee; and on motion of M. M. Ham, of Iowa, Hon. F. O. Prince was elected Temporary Secretary.

The roll was called, and a quorum found to be present as follows:

Alabama.....	HENRY C. SEMPLE.	* New Jersey.....	MILES ROSS.
Arkansas.....	S. R. COCKRILL, JR.	New York.....	HUBERT O. THOMPSON.
Colorado.....	CHARLES S. THOMAS.	North Carolina.....	M. W. RANSOM.
California.....	M. F. TARPEY.	Ohio.....	W. W. ARMSTRONG.
Connecticut.....	WM. H. BARNUM.	Oregon.....	A. NOLTNER.
Delaware.....	IGNATIUS C. GRUBB.	Pennsylvania...	WILLIAM A. WALLACE.
Florida.....	SAMUEL PASCO.	Rhode Island.....	J. B. BARNABY.
Georgia.....	PATRICK WALSH.	South Carolina.....	F. W. DAWSON.
Illinois.....	S. CORNING JUDD.	Tennessee.....	R. F. LOONEY.
Iowa.....	M. M. HAM.	* Texas.....	O. T. HOLT.
Indiana.....	A. H. BROWN.	Vermont.....	B. B. SMALLEY.
Kansas.....	C. W. BLAIR.	Virginia..	JOHN S. BARBOUR.
Kentucky.....	HENRY D. MCHENRY.	West Virginia.....	LEWIS BAKER.
Louisiana.....	B. F. JONAS.	* Wisconsin.....	WM. F. VILAS.
Maine.....	EDMUND WILSON.	Arizona.....	W. K. MEAD.
Maryland.....	A. P. GORMAN.	Dakota.....	M. H. DAY.
Massachusetts..	FREDERICK O. PRINCE.	* Dist. Col.....	WILLIAM DICKSON.
Michigan.....	DON. M. DICKINSON.	* Idaho.....	JOHN HALEY.
Minnesota.....	P. H. KELLY.	* Montana.....	W. J. MCCORMICK.
Mississippi.....	C. A. JOHNSTON.	New Mexico.....	GEO. W. FOX.
Missouri.....	JOHN G. PRATHER.	* Utah.....	J. P. ROSEBOROUGH.
Nebraska.....	JAMES E. BOYD.	Washington.....	J. H. KUHN.
Nevada.....	JOHN H. DENNIS.	* Wyoming.....	M. E. POST.
New Hampshire...	A. W. SULLOWAY.		

States marked \* were not represented.

On motion of Mr. Ransom, of North Carolina, the thanks of the Committee were unanimously tendered to the citizens and Committee of Chicago for the manner in which the National Committee have been entertained.

On motion of Mr. McHenry, of Kentucky, the following resolution was adopted :

*Resolved*, That whereas this Committee and the Democratic party of the country are indebted to Hon. Wm. H. Barnum for the distinguished efficient and valuable services which he has rendered the party during the last four years, for the ability and labor in the interests of the party, and in the interest of the Committee as its Chairman, and

*Whereas*, Our distinguished Secretary, Hon. F. O. Prince, of Massachusetts, has been united with him in those services, and has

rendered faithful and laborious service as the Secretary of this Committee during the same period,

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Committee be unanimously tendered to Hon. Wm. H. Barnum and Hon. F. O. Prince, and that Mr. Wilson, of Maine, as one of the oldest members of this Committee be requested to put the question.

The question being put by Mr. Wilson, the resolution was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

On motion of Mr. Ham, of Iowa, it was

*Resolved*, That 2,500 copies of the official record of the proceedings of the Convention be printed, within a reasonable period, say not later than two weeks after the letters of acceptance of the candidates have been received, and that the publication shall be under the supervision and direction of the Executive Committee of the National Committee, when appointed, and of Messrs. Goudy, late member of the Committee from Illinois, and of Mr. Judd, the present member of the Committee from Illinois.

*Resolved*, That as soon as the official record of the proceedings of the Convention is published, the copies be at once distributed to the different members of the National Committee in proportion to the number of delegates from the State which they represent.

On motion of Mr. Ransom, of North Carolina, the thanks of the Committee were tendered to Mr. Goudy, of Illinois, and his associates for the courtesy displayed in the discharge of their duties in regard to the Convention.

Mr. Gorman, of Maryland, moved that when the Committee adjourns, they do so to meet on Thursday, July 24, 1884, at 11 o'clock A. M., at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, in the City of New York. This motion was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Brown, the Committee adjourned.

THURSDAY, July 24, 1884.

The National Democratic Committee met at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, in the City of New York, on Thursday, July 24, 1884, at 11 o'clock, pursuant to adjournment.

In the absence of Hon. W. H. Barnum, the Temporary Chairman, Hon. F. O. Prince, the Secretary, called the Committee to order and nominated as Temporary Chairman Hon. A. P. Gorman, of Maryland, and moved his election.

This motion was adopted and Mr. Gorman was elected Temporary Chairman.

The Secretary then called the roll of the Committee, and a quorum was found to be present as follows :

Alabama.....	HENRY C. SEMPLE.	New Jersey.....	MILES ROSS.
Arkansas.....	S. R. COCKRILL, Jr.	New York....	HUBERT O. THOMPSON.
California.....	M. F. TARPEY.	North Carolina.....	M. W. RANSOM.
Colorado.....	CHARLES S. THOMAS.	Ohio.....	W. W. ARMSTRONG.
Connecticut....	S. M. WEED, (Proxy for W. H. BARNUM).	Oregon .....	A. NOLTNER.
Delaware.....	IGNATIUS C. GRUBB.	Pennsylvania....	E. A. BIGLER, (proxy for W. A. WALLACE).
Florida.....	SAMUEL PASCO.	Rhode Island .....	J. B. BARNABY.
Georgia.....	PATRICK WALSH.	South Carolina.....	F. W. DAWSON.
Illinois.....	S. CORNING JUDD.	Tennessee.....	J. S. BARBOUR, (proxy for R. F. LOONEY).
Indiana.....	A. H. BROWN.	Texas .....	Not represented.
Iowa.....	M. M. HAM.	Vermont.....	B. B. SMALLEY.
Kansas.....	C. W. BLAIR.	Virginia.....	JOHN S. BARBOUR.
Kentucky.....	HENRY D. MCHENRY.	West Virginia.....	LEWIS BAKER.
Louisiana.....	B. F. JONAS.	Wisconsin.....	W. F. VILAS.
Maine .....	EDMUND WILSON.	Arizona.....	T. P. MORGAN, (proxy for W. K. MEADE).
Maryland.....	A. P. GORMAN.	Dakota.....	Not represented.
Massachusetts.....	F. O. PRINCE.	District of Columbia...	WM. DICKSON.
Michigan.....	DON. M. DICKINSON.	Idaho .....	L. L. MCARTHUR (proxy for JOHN HALEY).
Minnesota.....	W. C. WHITNEY, (for P. H. KELLY).	Montana.....	W. J. MCCORMICK.
Mississippi.....	C. A. JOHNSTON.	New Mexico.....	Not represented.
Missouri.....	JOHN G. PRATHER.	Utah.....	Not represented.
Nebraska.....	JAMES E. BOYD, (by DR. GEO. L. MILLER, proxy).	Washington.....	J. H. KUHN.
Nevada....	(Not represented.)	Wyoming.....	Not represented.
New Hampshire....	A. W. SULLOWAY.		

The Secretary read the minutes of the meeting of July 11, 1884, which were approved.

Mr. Thompson, of New York, moved that the Committee proceed to the election of permanent Chairman.

This motion was adopted.

Mr. Thompson nominated for that position Hon. W. H. Barnum, of Connecticut.

On motion of Mr. Armstrong, of Ohio, there being no other nominations, the election of Mr. Barnum was made unanimous by acclamation.

On motion of Mr. Pasco, of Florida, the Committee proceeded to the election of a permanent Secretary.

Mr. Pasco nominated for that position Hon. F. O. Prince, of Massachusetts.

On motion of Mr. Blair, of Kansas, there being no other nominations, the election of Mr. Prince was made unanimous by acclamation.

Mr. Dawson, of South Carolina, offered the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That a special Committee of                    be appointed to consider and report at the earliest practicable moment, a plan for the organization of the National Committee for the work of the present canvass.

Mr. Ransom, of North Carolina, offered as an amendment, that the Chairman and the present Temporary Chairman of the National Committee be added to the Committee, and that the Committee consist in all of seven members.

This amendment was accepted.

Mr. Pasco, of Florida, offered as an amendment that



this Committee report at the next meeting of the National Committee.

This amendment was accepted.

The resolution as amended was adopted.

The Chair announced as such Committee Messrs. Dawson, of South Carolina; Miller, of Nebraska; Smalley, of Vermont; Kelly, of Minnesota; Vilas, of Wisconsin, and Barnum and Gorman, *ex-officio*.

Mr. Thompson, of New York, moved that a Committee of three be appointed, to which the Chairman and Temporary Chairman of this Committee be added, to inquire as to headquarters, and to report at the next meeting of the Committee.

This motion was adopted, and the Chair announced as such Committee Messrs. Thompson, of New York; McHenry, of Kentucky; and Ross, of New Jersey.

Mr. Smalley, of Vermont, offered the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That when this Committee adjourns, it do so to meet on Tuesday, July 29, 1884, at ten o'clock A. M., at the Delavan House, in the City of Albany, N. Y.

This resolution was adopted.

Mr. Prather, of Mo., moved that the Committee of seven be requested to confer with the Congressional Committee now in New York.

This motion was adopted.

Mr. Baker, of West Virginia, then made a statement as to the aspect of affairs in his State.

On motion of Mr. Prince, the Committee adjourned.

TUESDAY, July 29, 1884.

The Committee met on Tuesday, July 29, 1884, at the Delavan House, Albany, pursuant to adjournment.

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Barnum, the Secretary, Mr. Prince, called the meeting to order.

On motion of Dr. George L. Miller, of Nebraska, Hon. John S. Barbour, of Virginia, was elected Temporary Chairman.

The Secretary called the roll, and all the States and Territories were represented, except Connecticut, Maryland, Michigan, Kentucky, and the Territories of Dakota, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming.

The minutes of the meeting of July 24, 1884, were read and approved.

Mr. Dawson, of South Carolina, on behalf of the Committee appointed to report a plan of organization, presented the unanimous report of that Committee and moved its adoption.

On motion of Mr. Thompson, of New York, the report was read, amended and adopted, section by section.

On motion of Mr. Smalley, of Vermont, Charles J. Canda, of New York, was re-elected Treasurer of the Committee.

On motion, of Mr. Dawson, of South Carolina, Mr. Edward B. Dickinson, of New York, was re-elected official Stenographer of the Committee.

Mr. Thompson, of New York, on behalf the Committee on Headquarters, reported progress, and asked permission to make final report to the Executive Committee when appointed.

The permission was granted and the Committee continued.

The Temporary Chairman announced the Executive Committee as appointed by the Chairman as follows :

W. H. BARNUM.....Connecticut.	H. D. MCHENRY ....Kentucky.
A. P. GORMAN.....Maryland.	P. H. KELLY.....Minnesota.
M. W. RANSOM.....North Carolina.	B. B. SMALLEY.....Vermont.
B. F. JONAS.....Louisiana	A. W. SULLOWAY....New Hampshire.
H. O. THOMPSON....New York.	F. W. DAWSON.....South Carolina.
W. A. WALLACE.....Pennsylvania.	W. W. ARMSTRONG...Ohio.
JOHN S. BARBOUR ...Virginia.	MILES ROSS.....New Jersey.
WILLIAM F. VILAS...Wisconsin.	S. CORNING JUDD...Illinois.
A. H. BROWN.....Indiana.	J. B. BARNABY...Rhode Island.
M. M. HAM.....Iowa.	JOHN G. PRATHER....Missouri.

On motion of Mr. Dickson, D. C., the rule hitherto adopted in relation to giving information concerning the meetings of the Committee to the Press, was directed to be followed.

Mr. Thompson, of New York, moved that when this Committee adjourns, it do so to meet at 3 o'clock P. M. this day in this room, to accompany the Notification Committee to the Executive Mansion.

This motion was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Smalley, of Vermont, the Committee adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.

## NOTIFICATION OF CANDIDATES.

The Committee to notify the nominees met at the Connecticut headquarters, Palmer House, Chicago, Ills. Friday evening, July 12, 1884, and organized by the election of Gov. T. M. Waller, of Connecticut, Chairman, and Nicholas M. Bell, Reading Clerk of the Convention, Secretary. On motion of A. E. Stevenson, of Illinois, a sub-committee was appointed to prepare the letters of notification. The following were selected: A. E. Stevenson, of Illinois, W. A. Quarles, of Tennessee, L. G. Kinne, of Iowa, James Jeffries, of Louisiana, and Charles E. Hooker, of Mississippi. Col. Wm. F. Vilas was subsequently added to the sub-committee and made its Chairman. It was decided to meet at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York, July 28th, and to proceed to Albany and thence to Indianapolis. Col. Wm. F. Vilas was then elected Permanent Chairman of the Committee and Gov. Waller Vice-Chairman.

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NEW YORK, July 28th.

The Committee met pursuant to adjournment, and adjourned to meet at the Delavan House, Albany, N. Y., July 29, 1884, at 10.30 A. M.

The Committee on Notification assembled at 10.30 A. M., in the parlor of the Delevan House, July 29th.

Hon. Wm. F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, presided, and N. M. Bell, of Missouri, was Secretary. The roll was called,

and the representatives of all the States and Territories responded.

The addresses of the Committee to Gov. Cleveland, and to Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks, were read, and then signed by each member of the Committee. The Committee decided to go to Saratoga and tender the nomination to Mr. Hendricks at that place. The Committee adjourned to re-assemble at 3 P. M. and proceeded to the Executive Mansion, accompanied by the members of the National Committee.

On the arrival of the Committees they took positions at the south end of the room, and the members of the National Committee on the north. A space was reserved in the centre, and, as soon as the preparations were completed, the Governor entered through the main hallway. The ladies of the party stood near the Governor, at his left. Col. W. F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, Chairman of the late Democratic National Convention, and of the Notification Committee, stepped slightly forward, and, addressing the Governor, said :

REMARKS OF WILLIAM F. VILAS.

GROVER CLEVELAND, *Governor of the State of New York* :

These gentlemen, my associates here present, whose voice I am honored with authority to utter, are a Committee appointed by the National Democratic Convention which recently assembled in Chicago, and charged with the grateful duty of acquainting you, officially, and in that solemn and ceremonious manner which the dignity and importance of the communication demand, with the interesting



result of its deliberations, already known to you through the ordinary channels of news.

Sir, that august body, convened by direct Delegation from the Democratic people of the several States and territories of the Republic, and deliberating under the witness of the greatest assembly of freeman ever gathered to such a Conference, in forethought of the election which the Constitution imposes upon them to make during the current year, have nominated you to the people of these United States to be their President for the next ensuing term of that great office, and, with grave consideration of its exalted responsibilities, have confidently invoked their suffrages to invest you with its functions. Through this Committee, the Convention's high requirement is delivered, that you accept that candidacy.

This choice carries with it profound personal respect and admiration; but it has been in no manner the fruit of these sentiments.

The National Democracy seek a President not in compliment for what the man is, or reward for what he has done, but in a just expectation of what he will accomplish as the true servant of a free people, fit for their lofty trust. Always of momentous consequence, they conceive the public exigency to be now of transcendent importance; that a laborious reform in administration, as well as legislation, is imperatively necessary to the prosperity and honor of the Republic, and a competent chief magistrate must be of unusual temper and power. They have observed with attention your execution of the public trust you have held, especially of that with which you are now so honorably invested. They place their reliance for the usefulness of the services they expect to exact for the benefit of the Nation, upon the evidence derived from the services you have performed for the State of New York. They invite the electors to such proofs of character and competence, to justify their confidence that in the Nation, as heretofore in the State, the public business will be administered with commensurate intelligence and ability, with single-hearted honesty and fidelity, and with a resolute and daring fearlessness which no faction, no combination, no power of wealth, no mistaken clamor can dismay or qualify. In the spirit of the wisdom, and invoking the benediction of the Divine Teacher of men, we challenge from the sovereignty of this Nation His words, in commendation and ratification of our choice: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things." In further fulfilment of

our duty, the secretary will now present the written communication signed by the Committee.

Col. Vilas was several times interrupted by applause. At the close of his remarks Mr. Nicholas M. Bell, of Missouri, Secretary of the Committee, read the following formal address, prepared by the Committee :

THE ADDRESS OF NOTIFICATION.

NEW YORK CITY, July 28, 1884.

*To the Hon. GROVER CLEVELAND, of New York:*

SIR: In accordance with a custom befitting the nature of this communication, the undersigned, representing the several States and Territories of the Union, were appointed a Committee by the National Democratic Convention which assembled at Chicago on the 8th day of the current month, to perform the pleasing office which, by this means, we have the honor to execute, of informing you of your nomination as the candidate of the Democratic party in the ensuing election for the office of President of the United States. A declaration of the principles upon which the Democracy go before the people, with a hope of establishing and maintaining them in the Government, was made by the Convention; and an engrossed copy thereof is submitted in connection with this communication, for your consideration. We trust the approval of your judgment will follow an examination of this expression of opinion and policy, and upon the political controversy now made up, we invite your acceptance of the exalted leadership to which you have been chosen. The election of a President is an event of the utmost importance to the people of America; prosperity, growth, happiness, peace and liberty even may depend upon its wise ordering. Your unanimous nomination is proof that the Democracy believe your election will most contribute to secure these great results. We assure you that in the anxious responsibilities you must assume as a candidate, you will have the steadfast, cordial support of the friends of the cause you will represent; and in the execution of the duties of the high office—which we confidently expect from the wisdom of the Nation to be conferred

upon you—you may securely rely for approving aid, upon the patriotism, honor and intelligence of this free people.

We have the honor to be with great respect

W. F. VILAS, Wis., *President.*

NICHOLAS M. BELL, Mo., *Secretary.*

DANIEL P. BESTOR, <i>Alabama.</i>	W. D. CHIPLEY, <i>Florida.</i>
SAM. W. FORDYCE, <i>Arkansas.</i>	M. P. REESE, <i>Georgia.</i>
NILES SEARLES, <i>California.</i>	A. E. STEVENSON, <i>Illinois.</i>
M. S. WALLER, <i>Colorado.</i>	E. D. BANNISTER, <i>Indiana.</i>
T. M. WALLER, <i>Connecticut.</i>	L. G. KINNE, <i>Iowa.</i>
GEO. H. BATES, <i>Delaware.</i>	C. C. BURNS, <i>Kansas.</i>
ATTILA COX, <i>Kentucky.</i>	W. E. HAYNES, <i>Ohio.</i>
JAMES JEFFRIES, <i>Louisiana.</i>	L. L. MCARTHUR, <i>Oregon.</i>
C. H. OSGOOD, <i>Maine.</i>	J. P. BARR, <i>Pennsylvania.</i>
GEORGE WELLS, <i>Maryland.</i>	DAVID S. BAKER, JR., <i>Rhode Island.</i>
J. G. ABBOTT, <i>Massachusetts.</i>	WILSON G. LAMB, <i>North Carolina.</i>
DANIEL J. CAMPAN, <i>Michigan.</i>	JOSEPH H. EARLE, <i>South Carolina.</i>
THOS. E. HEENAN, <i>Minnesota.</i>	WILLIAM A. QUARLES, <i>Tennessee.</i>
CHAS. E. HOOKER, <i>Mississippi.</i>	JOSEPH E. DWYER, <i>Texas.</i>
DAVID R. FRANCIS, <i>Missouri.</i>	GEORGE L. SPEAR, <i>Vermont.</i>
PATRICK FAHEY, <i>Nebraska.</i>	ROBERT BEVERLY, <i>Virginia.</i>
D. E. MCCARTHY, <i>Nevada.</i>	FRANK HEREFORD, <i>West Virginia.</i>
JOHN F. CLOUTMAN, <i>New Hampshire.</i>	W. A. ANDERSON, <i>Wisconsin.</i>
JOHN P. STOCKTON, <i>New Jersey.</i>	S. T. HAUSER, <i>Montana.</i>
JOHN C. JACOBS, <i>New York.</i>	W. B. CHILDERS, <i>New Mexico.</i>
G. H. OURAY, <i>Arizona.</i>	M. L. MCCORMICK, <i>Dakota.</i>
RANSFORD SMITH, <i>Utah.</i>	M. B. DUTRO, <i>Washington Territory.</i>
JOHN M. SILCOTT, <i>Idaho.</i>	E. D. WRIGHT, <i>District of Columbia.</i>
	W. H. HOLLODAY, <i>Wyoming.</i>

Gov. Cleveland replied as follows :

#### GOVERNOR CLEVELAND'S REPLY.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE : Your formal announcement does not, of course, convey to me the first information of the result of the Convention lately held by the Democracy of the Nation.

And yet when, as I listen to your message, I see about me representatives from all parts of the land of the great party which, claiming to be the party of the people, asks them to entrust to it the administration of their government, and when I consider, under the influence of the stern reality which present surroundings create, that I have

been chosen to represent the plans, the purposes and the policy of the Democratic party, I am profoundly impressed by the solemnity of the occasion and by the responsibility of my position.

Though I gratefully appreciate it, I do not at this moment congratulate myself upon the distinguished honor which has been conferred upon me, because my mind is full of an anxious desire to perform well the part which has been assigned to me.

Nor do I at this moment forget that the rights and interests of more than fifty millions of my fellow citizens are involved in our efforts to gain Democratic supremacy. This reflection presents to my mind the consideration which more than all others gives to the action of my party in Convention assembled its most sober and serious aspect.

The party and its representatives which ask to be entrusted at the hands of the people with the keeping of all that concerns their welfare and their safety should only ask it with the full appreciation of the sacredness of the trust, and with a firm resolve to administer it faithfully and well.

I am a Democrat because I believe that this truth lies at the foundation of true Democracy. I have kept the faith because I believe, if rightly and fairly administered and applied, Democratic doctrines and measures will insure the happiness, contentment and prosperity of the people.

If, in the contest upon which we now enter, we steadfastly hold to the underlying principles of our party creed, and at all times keep in view the people's good, we shall be strong, because we are true to ourselves, and because the plain and independent voters of the land will seek by their suffrages to compass their release from party tyranny where there should be submission to the popular will, and their protection from party corruption where there should be devotion to the people's interests.

These thoughts lend a consecration to our cause ; and we go forth, not merely to gain a partisan advantage, but pledged to give to those who trust us the utmost benefit of a pure and honest administration of national affairs.

No higher purpose or motive can stimulate us to supreme effort, or urge us to continuous and earnest labor and effective party organization. Let us not fail in this, and we may confidently hope to reap the full reward of patriotic services well performed.

I have thus called to mind some simple truths; and trite though they are, it seems to me we do well to dwell upon them at this time.

I shall soon, I hope, signify in the usual formal manner my acceptance of the nomination which has been tendered to me. In the meantime, I gladly greet you all as co-workers in a noble cause.

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SARATOGA, July 30, 1884.

The Democratic National Notification Committee held a Session in the north reception room of the Grand Union Hotel at 11.30 this morning. Colonel Wm. F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, its Chairman, presided. After transacting the business of the occasion, Gov. Thomas M. Waller, of Connecticut, offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted :

*"Resolved,* That the Committee charged by the National Democratic Convention with the duty of notifying the candidates of their nominations having performed the duty assigned it, and being about to dissolve, tender to Hon. William F. Vilas and Nicholas M. Bell their thanks and compliments for the dignified and efficient manner in which they have performed their respective duties as Chairman and Secretary of the Committee."

#### FORMAL NOTIFICATION.

The Committee then adjourned, and at two P. M. a large number of gentlemen and ladies assembled in the large drawing-room to witness the formal ceremony of the notification of the Vice-Presidential candidate. The Committee and members of the Democratic National Committee, headed by Chairman Vilas and Secretary Bell, marched into the room by twos, and were presently followed by Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks, escorted by Hon. A. E. Stevenson, of Illinois, and Col. E. D. Bannister, of Indiana. His entrance



was greeted with hearty applause and acclamations. Stepping into the semi-circle formed by the Committee, on the west side of the room, Col. Vilas advanced and addressed Mr. Hendricks as follows :

ADDRESS OF COL. VILAS.

*Gov. THOMAS A. HENDRICKS, of Indiana :*

The great National Council of the Constitutional Democracy of the Union, held at Chicago within the month of July, constituted this Committee now before you by selection from each of the several States and Territories of our country, and commissioned it as the official voice of the party to declare to you, in fitting terms and with appropriate ceremony, not only in testimony of its respect for your abilities and character, but in pledge of its consideration for the interests of the Nation, that you have been nominated by that party to the people to be their Vice-President of the United States for the ensuing term of that exalted trust.

That honorable trust we have journeyed hither from every part of this wide land, with pride and pleasure, in this manner to discharge. The interesting circumstances of that nomination cannot be unknown to you, and could not but be gratifying to the sensibilities of any right-minded man. It was well understood in the Convention that such a distinction was more than unsought and undesired by you. Yet, sir, after many others were presented, your name was suggested, when it was followed by repeated seconding. Every other name was withdrawn, and amidst universal acclaim the roll-call responded your unanimous choice ; then, in unchecked enthusiasm, the Convention, with its vast surrounding assemblage, joined with cheer and solemn hymn in a prolonged outburst of grateful satisfaction.

Sir, though Indiana's favored citizens may enjoy, with just pride, a peculiar honor in the distinguished services you have rendered to your party, your State and the Nation, and may feel a peculiar attachment for the endearing qualities of your heart and mind, be assured the Democracy of the Nation participate in that sense of honor and affectionate regard in hardly less degree. They have witnessed your long and honorable career, sometimes in the faithful performance of high public trusts, sometimes nobly contending as a soldier in the ranks for the principles of Constitutional liberty, but

always with firm devotion and unswerving fidelity to the interests and rights of the people.

And now they confidently expect of your patriotism to yield all personal wishes and undertake the labors of the candidacy as, on their part, the people can securely repose upon the ripe experience of your years and wisdom to most satisfactorily meet all the responsibilities of the high office to which you will be called.

It is the especial desire of the Democracy, sir, to see you invested with this particular dignity, because they know—as now all the world knows—that once you were rightfully given title to it by the people, and wrongfully denied its possession by the success of the machinations of fraud and conspiracy ; and the vindication of exact justice will be most complete when you shall be re-elected, that you may be now triumphantly inaugurated to your rightful chair of office.

This sentiment has given direction to the personal consideration and admiration of the Democracy so abundantly manifested in the recent Convention, and will stir a responsive throb in the hearts of all good men.

In finishing the grateful office which the partial favor of these gentlemen, my distinguished associates, has assigned me, permit us, one and all, to express our personal assurances of the highest esteem and regard.

In more enduring execution of their duty, the Committee have prepared and personally signed a written communication, which their Secretary will now read.

#### ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE.

The Secretary read the following address :

NEW YORK CITY, July 28, 1884.

*The Hon. THOMAS A. HENDRICKS, of Indiana :*

SIR : The honor and pleasure of officially notifying you of your nomination as the candidate of the national Democracy, in the election about to occur for the office of Vice-President of the United States, were, by the Convention recently held at Chicago, conferred upon the undersigned as a Committee of that body designated to represent in one person the several States and Territories. In grateful performance of the duty we are entitled to express the admiration of the Convention and of the party for your well-known

personal services and character, and for your distinguished public services and maintenance of the principles and objects which are believed best calculated to promote the security, happiness and welfare of the people. An especial satisfaction in the minds of all good men must follow your election from the reflection that in your person the testimony will be peculiarly given, that the American people were never conscious or willing instruments of that great political crime, by which through fraudulent returns and flagrant disregard of truth and justice, others were seated in those high offices to which Samuel J. Tilden and yourself were rightfully chosen in 1876, as well as of the patriotism of your quiet submission and in confident reliance upon the justice of the people for vindication.

An engrossed copy of the declaration of principles and policy, made by the Convention, is submitted with this communication for your examination, and we may surely expect your loyal devotion to the cause of our party, to accept the candidacy imposed by your nomination.

We have the honor to be, with great respect,

WM. F. VILAS, *President.*

NICHOLAS M. BELL, *Secretary.*

Daniel P. Bestor, <i>Alabama.</i>	W. D. Chipley, <i>Florida.</i>
Sam. W. Fordyce, <i>Arkansas.</i>	M. P. Reese, <i>Georgia.</i>
Niles Searls, <i>California.</i>	A. E. Stevenson, <i>Illinois.</i>
M. S. Waller, <i>Colorado.</i>	E. D. Bannister, <i>Indiana.</i>
T. M. Waller, <i>Connecticut.</i>	L. G. Kinne, <i>Iowa.</i>
Geo. H. Bates, <i>Delaware.</i>	C. C. Burns, <i>Kansas.</i>
Attila Cox, <i>Kentucky.</i>	W. E. Haynes, <i>Ohio.</i>
James Jeffries, <i>Louisiana.</i>	L. L. McArthur, <i>Oregon.</i>
C. H. Osgood, <i>Maine.</i>	J. P. Barr, <i>Pennsylvania.</i>
George Wells, <i>Maryland.</i>	David S. Baker, Jr., <i>Rhode Island.</i>
J. G. Abbott, <i>Massachusetts.</i>	Wilson G. Lamb, <i>North Carolina.</i>
Daniel J. Campan, <i>Michigan.</i>	Joseph H. Earle, <i>South Carolina.</i>
Thos. E. Heenan, <i>Minnesota.</i>	William A. Quarles, <i>Tennessee.</i>
Chas. E. Hooker, <i>Mississippi.</i>	Joseph E. Dwyer, <i>Texas.</i>
David R. Francis, <i>Missouri.</i>	George L. Spear, <i>Vermont.</i>
Patrick Fahey, <i>Nebraska.</i>	Robert Beverly, <i>Virginia.</i>
D. E. McCarthy, <i>Nevada.</i>	Frank Hereford, <i>West Virginia.</i>
John F. Cloutman, <i>New Hampshire.</i>	W. A. Anderson, <i>Wisconsin.</i>
John P. Stockton, <i>New Jersey.</i>	S. T. Hauser, <i>Montana.</i>
John C. Jacobs, <i>New York.</i>	W. B. Childers, <i>New Mexico.</i>
G. H. Ouray, <i>Arizona.</i>	M. L. McCormick, <i>Dakota.</i>
Ransford Smith, <i>Utah.</i>	M. B. Dutro, <i>Washington Territory.</i>
John M. Silcott, <i>Idaho.</i>	E. D. Wright, <i>District of Columbia.</i>
	W. H. Holloday, <i>Wyoming.</i>

## GOVERNOR HENDRICKS' RESPONSE.

Mr. Hendricks responded as follows :

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE : I cannot realize that a man should ever stand in the presence of a Committee representing a more august body of men than that which you represent. In the language of another, the Convention was large in numbers, august in culture and patriotic in sentiment. And may I not add to that, that because of the power, and the greatness and the virtues of the party which it represented, it was in itself in every respect a very great Convention.

The Delegates came from all the States and Territories and I believe from the District of Columbia. They came clothed with the authority and sovereignty of the people, clothed with authority to express judgment and opinion upon all those questions which are not settled by Constitutional laws. For the purpose of passing upon those questions and selecting a ticket for the people, that Convention assembled. They decided upon the principles they would adopt as the platform. They selected the candidates that they would propose to the party for their support, and that Convention's work was then done.

I have not reached the period when it is proper for me to consider the strength and force of the statements made in the platform. It is enough for me to know that it comes at your hands from that great Convention addressed to my patriotic devotion to the Democratic party.

I appreciate the honor that is done me. I need not question that, but at the same time that I accept the honor from you and from the Convention, I feel that the duties and responsibilities of the office rest upon me also. I know that sometimes it is understood that this particular office—that of Vice-President—does not involve much responsibility, and, as a general thing, that is so. But sometimes it comes to represent very great responsibilities, and it may be so in the near future, for at this time the Senate of the United States stands almost equally divided between the two great parties, and it may be that those two parties shall so exactly differ that the Vice-President of the United States shall have to decide upon questions of law by the exercise of the casting vote. The responsibility would then become very great. It would not then be the responsibility of representing a State or a district. It would be the

responsibility of representing the whole country, and the obligation would be to the judgment of the whole country. And that vote, when thus cast, should be in obedience to the just expectations and requirements of the people of the United States. It might be, gentlemen, that upon another occasion greater responsibility would attach to this office. It might occur that under circumstances of some difficulty—I don't think it will at the next election—but it might occur under circumstances of some difficulty, the President of the Senate will have to take his part in the counting of the electoral vote. And allow me to say that that duty is not to be discharged in obedience to any set of men, or any party, but in obedience to a higher authority, absolute.

Gentlemen, you have referred to the fact that I am honored by this nomination in a very especial degree. I accept the suggestion. You have suggested that in this candidacy I will represent the right of the people to chose their own rulers—that right that is above all, that lies beneath all; for if the people are denied the right to choose their own officers according to their own judgment, what shall become of the rights of the people at all? What shall become of free Government? If the people selected not their officers how shall they control the laws, their administration and their execution? So that in suggesting that in this candidacy I represent that right of the people you have suggested a great honor has devolved upon me by the confidence of that Convention. As soon as it may be convenient and possible for me to do so, I will address you more formally in reply to the letter which you have given me. I thank you, gentlemen.



LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE OF HON. GROVER  
CLEVELAND.

ALBANY, N. Y., August 18, 1884.

GENTLEMEN: I have received your communication dated July 28th, 1884, informing me of my nomination to the office of President of the United States, by the National Democratic Convention lately assembled at Chicago.

I accept the nomination with a grateful appreciation of the supreme honor conferred, and a solemn sense of the responsibility which, in its acceptance, I assume.

I have carefully considered the platform adopted by the Convention and cordially approve the same. So plain a statement of Democratic faith and the principles upon which that party appeals to the suffrages of the people needs no supplement or explanation.

It should be remembered that the office of President is essentially executive in its nature. The laws enacted by the legislative branch of the Government, the Chief Executive is bound faithfully to enforce. And when the wisdom of the political party which selects one of its members as a nominee for that office has outlined its policy and declared its principles, it seems to me that nothing in the character of the office or the necessities of the case requires more from the candidate accepting such nomination than the suggestion of certain well-known truths so absolutely vital to the safety and welfare of the Nation, that they cannot be too often recalled or too seriously enforced.

We proudly call ours a government by the people. It is not such when a class is tolerated which arrogates to itself the management of public affairs, seeking to control the people instead of representing them.

Parties are the necessary outgrowth of our institutions; but a government is not by the people when one party fastens its control upon the country and perpetuates its power by cajoling and betraying the people instead of serving them.

A government is not by the people, when a result which should represent the intelligent will of free and thinking men is, or can be, determined by the shameless corruption of their suffrages.

When an election to office shall be the selection by the voters of

one of their number to assume for a time a public trust instead of his dedication to the profession of politics ; when the holders of the ballot, quickened by a sense of duty, shall avenge truth betrayed and pledges broken, and when the suffrage shall be altogether free and uncorrupted, the full realization of a government by the people will be at hand. And of the means to this end, not one would, in my judgment, be more effective, than an amendment to the Constitution disqualifying the President from re-election. When we consider the patronage of this great office, the allurements of power, the temptation to retain public place once gained, and, more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent whom a horde of office-holders with a zeal born of benefits received, and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with money and trained political service, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for re-election, a most serious danger to that calm, deliberate and intelligent political action, which must characterize a government by the people.

A true American sentiment recognizes the dignity of labor and the fact that honor lies in honest toil. Contented labor is an element of national prosperity. Ability to work constitutes the capital and the wage of labor the income of a vast number of our population ; and this interest should be jealously protected. Our workingmen are not asking unreasonable indulgence ; but as intelligent and manly citizens, they seek the same consideration which those demand who have other interests at stake. They should receive their full share of the care and attention of those who make and execute the laws, to the end that the wants and needs of the employers and the employed shall alike be subserved, and the prosperity of the country, the common heritage of both, be advanced. As related to this subject, while we should not discourage the immigration of those who come to acknowledge allegiance to our government and add to our citizen population, yet as a means of protection to our workingmen, a different rule should prevail concerning those who, if they come, or are brought, to our land, do not intend to become Americans, but will injuriously compete with those justly entitled to our field of labor.

In a letter accepting the nomination to the office of Governor, nearly two years ago, I made the following statement, to which I have steadily adhered :

“The laboring classes constitute the main part of our population. They should be protected in their efforts peaceably to assert their

rights when endangered by aggregated capital ; and all statutes on this subject should recognize the care of the State for honest toil and be framed with a view of improving the condition of the workingman."

A proper regard for the welfare of the workingman being inseparably connected with the integrity of our institutions, none of our citizens are more interested than they in guarding against any corrupting influences which seek to pervert the beneficent purposes of our Government ; and none should be more watchful of the artful machinations of those who allure them to self-inflicted injury.

In a free country, the curtailment of the absolute rights of the individual should only be such as is essential to the peace and good order of the community. The limit between the proper subjects of governmental control, and those which can be more fittingly left to the moral sense and self-imposed restraint of the citizen should be carefully kept in view. Thus laws unnecessarily interfering with the habits and customs of any of our people which are not offensive to the moral sentiments of the civilized world, and which are consistent with good citizenship and the public welfare, are unwise and vexatious.

The commerce of a nation to a great extent determines its supremacy. Cheap and easy transportation should therefore be liberally fostered. Within the limits of the Constitution, the General Government should so improve and protect its natural water-ways as will enable the producers of the country to reach a profitable market.

The people pay the wages of the public employees, and they are entitled to the fair and honest work which the money thus paid should command. It is the duty of those intrusted with the management of their affairs to see that such public service is forthcoming. The selection and retention of subordinates in Government employment should depend upon their ascertained fitness and the value of their work, and they should be neither expected nor allowed to do questionable party service. The interests of the people will be better protected ; the estimate of public labor and duty will be immensely improved ; public employment will be open to all who can demonstrate their fitness to enter it ; the unseemly scramble for place under the Government, with the consequent importunity which embitters official life will cease ; and the public departments will not be filled with those who conceive it to be their first duty to aid the party to which they owe their places, instead of rendering patient and honest return to the people.

I believe that the public temper is such that the voters of the land are prepared to support the party which gives the best promise of administering the Government in the honest, simple and plain manner which is consistent with its character and purposes. They have learned that mystery and concealment in the management of their affairs cover tricks and betrayal. The statesmanship they require consists in honesty and frugality, a prompt response to the needs of the people as they arise, and the vigilant protection of all their varied interests.

If I should be called to the Chief Magistracy of the Nation by the suffrages of my fellow-citizens, I will assume the duties of that high office with a solemn determination to dedicate every effort to the country's good, and with an humble reliance upon the favor and support of the Supreme Being, who I believe will always bless honest human endeavor in the conscientious discharge of public duty.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

*To Colonel WILLIAM F. VILAS, Chairman, and D. P. BESTOR, and others, members of the Notification Committee of the Democratic National Convention.*

LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE OF HON. THOMAS A.  
HENDRICKS.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., August 20, 1884.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication notifying me of my nomination by the Democratic Convention at Chicago as candidate for the office of Vice-President of the United States, and may repeat what I said on another occasion, that it is a nomination which I had neither expected nor desired, and yet I recognize and appreciate the high honor done me by the Convention.

The choice of such a body, pronounced with such unusual unanimity and accompanied with so generous an expression of esteem and confidence, ought to outweigh all merely personal desires and preferences of my own.

It is with this feeling, and I trust also from a deep sense of public duty, that I now accept the nomination, and shall abide the judgment of my countrymen.

I have examined with care the declaration of principles adopted by the Convention, a copy of which you submitted to me, and in their sum and substance I heartily endorse and approve the same.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

T. A. HENDRICKS.

*To Hon. W. F. VILAS ; Chairman, N. M. BELL, Secretary, and others  
of the National Democratic Convention.*































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